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OF THE

Nature and Qualification

OF

RELIGION,

In Reference to

Civil Society.

WRITTEN BY

Samuel Puffendorff,

Counſellor of State to the Late King of *Sweden.*

Tranſlated from the Original.

LONDON:

Printed by *D. E.* for *A. Roper*, at the *Black Boy*, and *A. Boſvile*, at the *Dial*, both over againſt St. *Dunſtan's* Church in *Fleet-ſtreet.* 1698.

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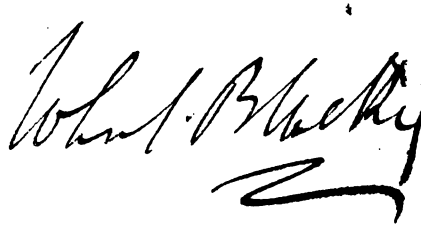
this Treatiſe, *written by our* Author, *in oppoſition to Mr.* Hobbes's *Monſtrous Principles concerning this* unlimited Power, *may ſufficiently clear him from this Imputation; If theſe Gentlemen would have taken the pains to make a due compariſon of the ſeveral Paſſages both in this, and other Treatiſes of our* Author, *relating to this Subject, they might, without much difficulty, have been convinc'd of their Error; As far as I am capable of penetrating into the Matter, it is the word* Princeps, *or Prince, which ſticks moſt cloſely in their Stomachs, not conſidering, That the Words,* Summi Imperantes, *or* Sovereigns; *and that of* Princeps, *or* Prince, *are Synoms to our* Author; *and that out of a great many Paſſages in this* Treatiſe, *it is ſufficiently apparent, that he attributes the Sovereign Power not always to one ſingle Perſon, but ſometimes*



a-days practiſed in moſt Chriſtian States, and in the Commonwealth of the Jews *(inſtituted by God's peculiar Direction) this Union was inſeparable. It cannot be denied, but that the outward Form of Church Government, eſpecially among the* Proteſtants, *is in a great meaſure, and in moſt places adapted to that of the* State; *it being evident, that moſt of the* Monarchical States, Epiſcopacy, *as moſt ſuitable with that Conſtitution, was never aboliſhed; as on the contrary, the ſame was quite extirpated in the* Proteſtant Commonwealths. *This is moſt particularly obſervable among the* Lutherans, *who, tho' all agreeing in Point of Doctrine, are nevertheleſs, ſo far different from one another in the Ceremonial Point, and outward Form of Church Government, that in outward Appearance, they ſeem'd to be ſo many ſeveral Churches. Thus in the two Northern*

King-

Kingdoms of Sweden *and* Denmark, *the Epiſcopal Authority (tho' much diminiſhed in its Revenues) is retained to this day; whereas in ſome Commonwealths in* Germany, *where the ſame Religion is Eſtabliſhed, it is quite aboliſhed, and not the leaſt footſteps of Subordination of Prieſts to be met with. But this Objection is eaſily cleared, if we take into due Conſideration, that it being the Intention of our* Author *to repreſent in thoſe places Religion in its genuine and native Conſtitution, freed from all what is foreign to its true Genius, he did not think it convenient, to clog it with any thing that was not an Eſſential part of it; eſpecially when his chief aim was to ſhew the real difference betwixt the Chriſtian and Jewiſh Religion. There are alſo not a few, who prompted by a prepoſterous Zeal, have imputed to our Author a certain kind of* Libertiniſm *in Religion, for which, I can ſee no other Reaſon, than that they are diſſatisfied with his Aſſertions againſt any thing that has the leaſt reſemblance of Perſecution upon the ſcore of Difference of Opinions. I am well ſatisfied, that the Reaſons alledged by him, are ſo ſolid in themſelves, and ſo exactly applied to this Purpoſe, that they cannot but be Convincing*

to

to all ſuch, as are not prepoſſeſſed either with By-Intereſt, or a moſt ſtupid Ignorance, For, if the Slavery of the Body be abſolutely repugnant to the Inclinations of a generous Soul, How much more inſupportable muſt the Slavery of the Mind be to a ſublime Genius, elevated above the common Sphere of bigotted Zealots Ignorance, being the Mother of perverted Zeal, and conſequently of a perſecuting Spirit, the ſame ought to be look'd upon as the common Enemy of all ſuch as are guided by the Light of true Reaſon? I cannot but take notice here, that our Engliſh *Modern Clergy has of late gain'd ſo peculiar a Character of following ſo cloſely theſe footſteps of convincing ſuch as differ from them in Opinion, rather by ſtrength of Argument, than any forcible Means, that I do not know whether they are not preferrable in this Poiut, before any other in* Europe. *If any one queſtions the Truth of it, I appeal to Mr.* Toland's *Caſe, concerning his Treatiſe, Entituled,* Chriſtianity not Myſterious. *It is both beyond my ſcope, and the compaſs of a Letter, to enter upon the Merits of the Cauſe on both Sides, it will be ſufficient here to refer my ſelf to what has been Publiſhed againſt him lately here in* England,

gland, *and in other Places; All which, if duely compared, will ſoon evince, how much the* Engliſh *Clergy has out-done the reſt, both by force of Argument, and a generous, gentle Behaviour. But I am afraid I have abuſed your Lordſhip's Patience; I will therefore conclude with recommending both my* Author *and* my Self, *to your Lordſhip's Protection, begging Leave to ſubſcribe my ſelf,*

My Lord,

Your Devoted Servant.

J. Crull. M. D.

THE

THE

CONTENTS.

SECT. 1.

Concering Religion before Civil Societies were Inſtituted

Every Man is accountable to God for his own Religion 2

How the ſame might be exerciſed in the free State of Nature 3

Parents had originally the Care of Religious Worſhip lodged in them. 4

Civil Societies were not conſtituted for Religions ſake 5

Subjects did never ſubmit their Opinions, as to Religious Worſhip, to the Diſpoſal of their Sovereigns 6

What Power properly, and. according to the Laws of Nature, belongs to Sovereigns in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs 7

Of the Nature of Revealed Religion 8

Among the Jews *there was a very ſtrict Union betwixt the Church and State* 9

Who was the Supream Head of the Jewiſh *Church* 10

The Chriſtian Religion is quite different from the Jewiſh 11

Some Reflections on the Behaviour of Moſes, *when he laid the Foundation of the Commonwealth of the* Jews 12

What on the other Hand our Saviour did, when he Eſtabliſhed his Church here on Earth 13

Chriſt

The Contents.

Chriſt was not the Founder of a New Com wealth or People
Neither had he any Territories belonging to hi.
Chriſt did not exerciſe any Sovereign Power
But the Office of a Doctor or Teacher
The Apoſtles did propagate the Doctrine of Saviour
The Apoſtles had received their Authority of ching from God alone, independant from Human Power
The Apoſtles never aſſumed any Authority of manding others
Whether their Authority of Teaching does indir imply any right of Commanding others
Whether the Power of Abſolution does imply Right of Sovereignty
What is to be underſtood by abſolving from Sins
Under whoſe Authority the Apoſtles did exe the Power of Abſolution
Of what nature it was
Whether St. Peter *had any Prerogative gra above others*
Whether the Power of Excommunicating imp Sovereignty
The Commiſſion granted by Chriſt to his Apo contains nothing of Command
The Kingdom of Chriſt is no Temporal Kingdon
Whether the Chriſtian Church ought to be conſi ed as a State or Sovereignty
In the Primitive Church there was nothing lik

There is a great difference betwixt the Church State
And the Doctors or Teachers in the Church quite different from thoſe that exerciſes the vereigney in a State

Whether the whole Christian Church ought to be considered as a State 34
'tis not requisite to reduce the whole Christian Church under one Independant Severeignty or Head 35
Whether there ought not to be one Supream Judge in the Church, to determine such Differences as may arise from time to time 36
An Example of a Controversie composed in the Apostles Times 37
Some Observations concerning the Nature and Usefulness of General Councils 38
Concerning the Condition of the Christian Church under the Pagan Princes 39
Concerning its Condition under the Christian Emperours 40
The Church has not changed her Nature of being a Colledge or Society 41
Neither are Sovereigns thereby become Bishops 42
Christian Sovereigns are obliged to maintain and defend the Church 43
Of the Prerogatives of Princes in Ecclesiastical Affairs 44
Of the Power of Sovereigns over the Church Ministers 45
Of the Power of calling a Synod or Convention 46
Of their Power, as to Church-Discipline 47
Of their Power of making Laws and Ecclesiastical Constitutions 48
How far Sovereigns are obliged to intermeddle in Religious Affairs, when the Publick Safety lies at stake 49
Concerning Toleration of several Religions 50
Princes ought to be very careful not to be led away by false Suggestions 51

Some-

The Contents.

Sometimes the Prerogatives of Sovereigns impaired under a religious Pretext

Concerning the Power of ſetting up a Reform.

Whether Subjects without the concurrence of Sovereigns can prepend to ſet up a Reformation

OF THE
Nature and Qualification
OF
RELIGION,
In Reference to
CIVIL SOCIETY, &c.

AMong all thoſe Queſtions, which have for many Ages paſt been Controverted among Chriſtians, this may be leem'd one of the Chiefeſt, which Treats of he Nature, Authority, and Power of the Church; and which of the ſeveral Chriſtian ects ought moſt juſtly to claim the Title of he *True Church*. The *Romaniſts* keep this or their laſt Reſerve, when Engag'd with the *Proteſtants*, That they Attribute the Name of he *True Church* only to themſelves, and boldly ſtigmatize all ſuch as are not of their Communion, with the Names of rebellious Deſerters. This is the main Bulwark they rely upon, hinking it ſufficient to Alledge in their own ehalf; That they are not obliged ſo ſtrictly o Examin, and maintain every Article of their

Faith againſt the *Proteſtants*; ſince, whateve
Objections may be made out of the Holy Scri
pture, the ſame ought to be rejected as Erro
neous, if not agreeable with the Interpretati
ons and Traditions of their Church; Thu
making themſelves both Judges and Witneſſe
in their own Cauſe. Beſides this, it i
to be look'd upon as a Matter of the greatel
Conſequence, both in regard of the Chriſtia
Church, and the Publick Safety in a State, t
know exactly, what bounds ought to be pre
ſcribed to the Prieſtly Order in Eccleſiaſtic
Affairs; as likewiſe to determin, how far th
Power of Sovereigns extends it ſelf in Eccle
ſiaſtical Matters: For, if either of them tranſ
greſs their Bounds, it muſt of neceſſity prov
the Cauſe of great Abuſes, Diſturbances an
Oppreſſions, both in Church and State. I wa
the ſooner prevail'd upon to Search into th
very bottom of this Queſtion, at this juncture
of Time, when not only the *Romiſh Prie*
apply all their Cunning for the rooting out
the *Proteſtants*, but alſo ſome of the greate
Princes in Chriſtendom (ſetting aſide the A
tient way of Converting People by Reaſ
and force of Arguments) have now recourſe
open Violence; and by Dragooning, fo
their miſerable Subjects to a Religion, whi
always appear'd abominable to them. B
we propoſe to our ſelves to examin this Po
according ro its own ſolid Principles (as
ought to do) without having recourſe to A
biguous Terms and Tergiverſations, it is
ſolutely requiſite, that we trace the very O
ginal of Religion in General; and of
Chriſt

n Religion in Particular, ſo as to Ex-
ɔth their Natural Qualifications in re-
to Civil Society. For, if this, which
look'd upon as the Foundation Stone, be
ɔured: And we afterwards do look into
iptures, to Inveſtigate, in what man-
iſt himſelf has repreſented his Doctrine
it will be no difficult Task to judge,
r, according to the Inſtitution of our
', there ought to be an Eccleſiaſtical
gnty exerciſed by *Prieſts*? Or, whether
have a Right to make uſe of an Abſo-
wer? Or can Compel their Subjects to
nce by Force of Arms, in Matters of
ɔn?

. That there is a Supream Being, the and Creator both of the Univerſe, and lly of Mankind, which ought to be ac- dged and worſhipped as ſuch by Men- ıs they are Rational Creatures, has been lly receiv'd, not only among Chriſtians, ɔ by moſt of the Pagan Philoſophers, pretend to demonſtrate it here, would erfluous, and perhaps might be taken ɔ in prejudice of the judicious Reader; carce any body, that is not beyond his Vits, can be ſuppoſed, now a days, to he leaſt Doubt of the Verity of this on. The true Knowledge of Divine ip ariſes from two ſeveral Springs: For, ıer by true Ratiocination, deduced out Light of Nature, may be Convinced of ɔentiments we ought to have of God, ıat Reverence is due to him from us s: Or elſe, ſome Matters, being be-

Concerning Religion before Civil Societies were Inſtituted.

yond our Apprehenſion, by the bare Light o Nature, are by God's ſpecial Command Re vealed to Mankind. Both Kinds are to be th Subject of the following Treatiſe; with th Reſtriction nevertheleſs, not to inſiſt upon ea particular Head of either of them, any fu ther, than they have relation to Civil So ciety.

Every Man is accountable for his Religion.

§. 2. The firſt Thing which is to be co ſidered, both in Natural and Revealed Religi on, is, That every body is obliged to worſh God in his own Perſon, Religious Duty bein not to be performed by a Deputy, but by him ſelf, in Perſon, who expects to reap the Be nefit of religious Worſhip, promiſed by Go Almighty. For Man, being a rational Cre ture, owing its Off-ſpring to God alone, thereby put under ſuch an indiſpenſible Ob gation, that the Conſideration of worſhippi him, to the utmoſt of his Power, can nev be entirely extinguiſhed in a rational Soul. A here lies the main difference betwixt that Ca which, we ought to have our Souls, a that of our Bodies; the latter of which, m be committed to the Management of othe who being to be Accountable for all Injuri which may befall us under their Tuition, w are thereby freed from any Guilt againſt o ſelves. So do we commit our ſelves, when w paſs the Seas, to the Management of the M ſter of a Ship, by whoſe ſole Care, witho our own Aſſiſtance, we are conducted to t deſired Port. But, no body can ſo entire transfer the Care of his Soul, and the Exe ciſe of Religious Worſhip from himſelf

anotl

another Man, as to make him alone Accountable for all Miſcarriages, and to free himſelf from Puniſhment. *Every one of us ſhall give Account of himſelf to God.* And it is in vain for St. *Paul* to wiſh, *to be Accurſed from Chriſt, for his Brethren, his Kinſmen, according to the Fleſh.* And, though it is undeniable, That thoſe who have been negligent in taking care of other Peoples Souls, that were committed to their Charge, ſhall receive Puniſhment; Nevertheleſs, theſe, whoſe Souls have been thus neglected, ſhall periſh with them, for having put too much Truſt in others, and neglected their own Salvation. As it is plainly expreſſed by the Prophet *Ezekiel*, 33. 7, 8. *And the Juſt ſhall live by Faith.* And the Evangeliſt St. *Mark*, ſpeaks without any Reſervation. *He that believed not, ſhall be damned*; without diſtinction, whether you were ſeduced by others, or whether you have renounced our Faith for worldly Ends.

Rom. 14. 12. Rom. 9. 3. Habak. 2. 4. *Mark*, 16. 16.

§. 3. From whence it is evident, That, Religion having its relation to God, the ſame may be exerciſed without the Communion of a great many; And, that a Man ought not to judge of the Soundneſs of his Doctrine or Religion, by the Number of thoſe that adhere to it. So, that it is manifeſt, That, at the beginning of the World, our firſt Parents might, and did really perform Religious Duties; And, that, if one alone, or a few together, live in a ſolitary Place, they are therefore not to be deem'd to live without Religion, becauſe, they do not make up a Congregation. For, God being the only Judge, of what is

How the ſame is to be exerciſed in the free State of Nature.

beſt pleaſing to him in his Worſhip, kn
and ſearches the very bottom of our Hea
And, ſince we are not able, without his A
ance, to perform religious Duties, the
can't be eſteem'd properly our own Invent
As thoſe that live in the free State of Nat
are not Subject to any Human Power, So
the ſame State, their Religion, having on
relation to God Almighty, unto whom a
they are bound to pay Reverence, it is
from all Human Force or Power; which, in
State of Natural Freedom, they may exer
either according to the Dictates of Rea
or, according to Divine Revelation;
according to the beſt of their Knowle
may diſpoſe the outward Form of their re
ous Worſhip, without being accountabl
any body, but God Almighty: Neither
they be Controuled, or forced, rather to
ſhip God according to another's, than
own Opinion. But, if any body pretenc
bring them over to his Side, he ought
ſuitable Arguments, to Convince them,
far he is in the Right, and they in the Wr
There may be, beſides this, another Reaſo
given, why no body, in what Condition
ver, ought to be forced to another Man's
ligion; becauſe the Knowledge of T
can't be implanted in us, without proper
convincing Arguments, ſuch as are capab
preparing our Minds for the receiving of
True Doctrine of Religion: And, as t
Myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion, which t
ſcend our Reaſon, theſe muſt be acquire
the aſſiſtance of Divine Grace, which is

t

trary to all Violence. 'Tis true, a Prince may force a Subject to make an outward Confession by way of Mouth, to comply in his Behaviour, with his Commands, and to dissemble his Thoughts or to speak contrary to his Belief; but he can force no body to believe contrary to his own Opinion. For we ought *to believe with all our Hearts*; but, whatever is done in order to obtain any worldly Advantage, or to avoid an imminent Evil of this kind, can't be done with all our Heart. But, *Faith cometh by Hearing, and Hearing by the Word of God.* Neither does our Saviour force his Word upon us; but by all gentle means, persuades us to a Compliance with his Will, according to St. *Paul's* Saying: *Now then we are Ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us, we pray you in Christs stead, be ye reconciled to God.*

Acts, 8. 37.

Rom. 10. 17.

2 Cor. 5. 20.

§. 4. It is an unquestionable Truth, and generally received among Mankind, That one is obliged to give a helping-hand to another in several Respects: In the same manner it is with Religion; that these who by nearest of Blood, are in Duty bound, to take Care of young Peoples Education, ought at the same time to Instruct them in the true Knowledge of God, and prepare their Minds for the receiving of the Christian Doctrine. 'Tis upon this score, that this Care touches most nearly all Parents, in regard of their Children, it being the principal Part of Paternal Duty, to take effectual Care, that they may be throughly Instructed in all Matters, relating to God and his holy Word; and to be encouraged in all manner of religious Exercises: For, it is

The first Care of religious Worship lodged in Parents.

too dangerous, to leave young People to their own Inclinations, till they may be capable, by the Strength of their own Reaſon, to learn their Duty towards God. And it would be much more dangerous, to defer it under pretence or expectation of Revelations to be made upon that account, at this time, when the Word of God is already planted and eſtabliſhed among us: Beſides, that Children ſoon grow head-ſtrong and refractory, if they are not in their tender Age, accuſtomed to pious Exerciſes. Nevertheleſs, Parents ought not to exerciſe this Paternal Office any otherwiſe, than in a manner ſuitable to the Genius of the Chriſtian Religion, which will have them not to act with Violence, but to be diligent and aſſiduous in Teaching, Exhorting, Praying, and announcing God's Wrath. Wherefore, the Prieſtly Office was originally joined with the Paternal, in the antient Fathers of Families; and *Abraham* is commended both for a good Father, and a good Maſter of his Houſe, becauſe he inſtructed his Children in all manner of Piety, and himſelf Adminiſtred Circumciſion. The like Commands were made to Parents, both in the Old and New Teſtament; and the Patriarch *Jacob*, removed the Idols out of his Family, not by Compulſion, but by Inſtructing thoſe of his Houſe in the Knowledge of the true God, who thereupon, voluntarily ſurrendred thoſe Idols to his Diſpoſal. This part of the Paternal Office, like all the reſt, does ceaſe as ſoon as a Son, after leaving his Father's Houſe, comes to ſet up for himſelf, and conſequently becomes the Father

Gen. 18. 19

Ge. 17. 20 Deut. 6. 7. 11. 19. Eph. 6. 4. Gen. 35. 2, 3, 4.

of

a ſeparate Family, and enjoys the ſame Rights, which his Father had before over him. And, tho' perhaps in ſuch a Caſe a Father may ſtill retain the priviledge of giving ſome Paternal Admonitions to his Sons, yet ought the ſame to be look'd upon to reſemble in their Nature our laſt Will or Teſtament, which does not always imply properly a Command; but ought to be obſerved for its good Intentions ſake, and to ſhew a due Reverence to the Memory of a Father, never to be neglected by any, that will not at the ſame time profeſs themſelves guilty of Improbity.

Civil Societies were not Inſtituted for Religious ſake.

§. 5. Out of what has been ſaid before, it is moſt evident, That Civil Governments were not erected for Religions ſake; or that Man did not enter into Civil Societies, that they might with more conveniency eſtabliſh, and exerciſe their Religion. For, ſince Religious Exerciſes could be performed as well by a few, as by a great Number; and in a ſmall Congregation as well, as in a great one, it was unneceſſary to erect ſeveral great Societies on that account: Beſides, that thoſe who committed open violences againſt others, which was the firſt motive that obliged Men to enter into Societies for their mutual Defence, did not aim at the Religion of Mankind; but, to robb theſe that were weaker than themſelves of their Liberty, Life, and Fortunes. Neither does a Man's Probity and Piety receive the leaſt addition, by the Number of People, which join in their Devotion; For every one muſt be acceptable to God Almighty upon his own account; neither is a Man always deem'd the more

more pious, becauſe he lives among ſuch as are pious themſelves. Thoſe Patriarchs that liv'd before Civil Societies were erected, are no leſs Famous for their Piety, than thoſe that lived afterwards under a ſettled Government. From whence it is evident, That Religion is not an ingenious Invention of the firſt Founders of Commonwealths, but as antient as Humane Raceit ſelf; it being ſufficiently apparent, that Mankind did not enter into Civil Societies, till long after, being enforced thereunto, by great and weighty Reaſons; tho' at the ſame time, it cannot be deny'd, but that ſome have cunningly abuſed Religion, for obtaining their Ends in the State; But, Religion in it ſelf conſidered, is not made ſubordinate to the State; or to be deem'd a proper Inſtrument to ſerve a States Turn, and to keep the People in Obedience. And, when Religion is called, *Vinculum Societatis Civilis*, *The Cement of Civil Society*, it muſt be taken in this Senſe; That if all Religion and Regard, which ought to be had to God's diſpleaſure, were aboliſhed, there would be no Tie left, ſtrong enough to oblige Mankind to a compliance with thoſe Laws and fundamental Conſtitutions, which are the original Foundation of all Commonwealths; And, that, without the fear of being accountable to God Almighty, no Human Power alone would be prevailing enough to bridle the Enormities of ſome ſtubborn and refractory Spirits.

§. 6. It

§. 6. It being therefore beyond queſtion, That Commonwealths were not erected for Religions ſake, it is eaſie to be underſtood, that the antient Fathers of Families, when they firſt ſubmitted themſelves under a Civil Government, were thereby, not obliged to ſurrender at the ſame time, their Religion in the ſame manner, as they did their Lives and Fortunes to their Sovereigns, for the obtaining the End of Civil Society, which was their common Security. The more, becauſe Religion was not inſtituted for the obtaining of this mutual Security, and as ſuch, do's not contribute any thing towards the maintaining of Civil Society. Religion ariſes from a much more noble Spring, than Civil Government; and more ſtrictly obliges Mankind, than any Civil Power; and therefore is unalterable in its Nature. Thus it would be not only uſeleſs, but imply a Contradiction; if a Man, who is to become a Subject to a Civil Government, ſhould be obliged to ſwear Allegiance to his Sovereign, in theſe following Terms: *J. N. N.* Submit my Will entirely to your Commands; I promiſe to love, honour, and truſt in God, according to your Pleaſure; and to put more Confidence in you than in God Almighty; to ſet aſide all your Command, all Love, Reſpect and Duty, which I owe to God Almighty, and to perform ſuch things as I know to be contrary to him and his Commands. For, here ought to be remembred, what the Apoſtles ſaid: *We ought to obey God rather than Man.* Acts 5. 29. And, whenever Sovereigns pretend to extend thus far their Authority, they tranſgreſs their Bounds; and if they inflict any Puniſhment on their

Subjects did not ſubmit their Opinions in Matters of Religion, to the Diſpoſal of their Sovereigns

their Subjects, for refuſing to be obedient to their Commands, on this Account; ſuch an Act ought to be look'd upon, as illegal, unjuſt, and tyrannical. God has verified this by extraordinary Miracles: It was an abſurd and illegal Proceeding, when *Darius*, overperſuaded by his Courtiers, who intended to lay a Trap for *Daniel*, iſſued out his Proclamation, That *no body, for thirty Days ſhould ask a Petition of any God or Man.* For, what concerns had the King with his Subjects; Prayers (unlawful Prayers, being not accepted of by God Almighty) eſpecially with thoſe made in private? For, if any one ſhould have prayed in publick againſt the King, it would been a quite different Caſe; and ſuch a one had deſervedly received Puniſhment, as an Enemy to his Sovereign. Wherefore, *Daniel* did very well, in continuing his daily private Prayers, according to his former Cuſtom; notwithſtanding the King's impious and fooliſh Command; and, was, for this Reaſon, by an extraordinary Miracle, delivered out of the Lions Den. In the ſame manner did God preſerve *Daniel's* three Companions in the midſt of the Flames, becauſe they refuſed to worſhip the Golden Image, according to the King's Command: Though, at the ſame time, it is very probable, that this Image, ſet up by *Nebuchadnezar*, was not intended to be worſhipped as a God; but only as a Sign or Emblem of that Eternal Being, which he would have to be Adored and Worſhipped by his Subjects. Certainly, *Jeroboam*, could not be ſo much beſides himſelf, as to imagine,

Dan. 6. 7. 8.

Dan. 3. 17, 18.

gine, or to pretend to perſuade the Jews, That the Golden Calves, which he had cauſed to be made, were the ſame God, by whoſe Power they were brought out of *Ægypt*; But he ſet them up as a Token, or Repreſentative, whereby to put them in mind of the Benefits received from God, the great Deliverer of *Iſrael*; and that they might not want places where to pay their Devotions, and perform their religeous Duties. So, that, though he did not fall off from God, but only, for Reaſons of State; and becauſe he thought it belonging to his Royal Prerogative, made an Alteration in the outward Form of Worſhip; Yet was he, with his whole Family, rooted out of *Iſrael*, and the Jews, for having obeyed and followed their King, in his Idolatry, paid for it with the Loſs of the *Holy Land*.

Joſeph. Arch. 8. 3.

2 Reg. 19. 17, 16.

§. 7. Sovereigns are nevertheleſs, not excluded from having a certain Power and Diſpoſal in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, as they are the Supream Heads and Governours of the Commonwealth; and are therefore ſtil'd, the Publick Fathers, and Fathers of their Native Country. And, as has been ſaid before, as it is one of the Principal parts of Paternal Duty, to implant Piety into their Children; ſo Sovereigns ought to take care, that Publick Diſcipline (of which the Reverence due to God Almighty, is one main Point) to be maintained among their Subjects. And, whereas the Fear of God is the Foundation Stone of Probity, and other Moral Vertues; and it being the Intereſt of Sovereigns, that the ſame be by all means encouraged in a State; and that Religion

What Power, according to the Law of Nature, belongs Sovereigns in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs?

Religion is the ſtrongeſt Knot for the maintaining a true Union betwixt Sovereigns and their Subjects. (God being a God of Truth, who has commanded, that Faith and Compacts ſhould be ſacred among Men:) It is therefore a Duty incumbent upon Sovereigns, to take not only effectual Care, that Natural Religion be maintain'd, and cultivated among their Subjects; But they have alſo a ſufficient Authority, to Enact ſuch Laws as may enable them, to keep their Subjects from committing any thing, which tends, either to the total Deſtruction, or the Subverſion, of the Capital Points of Religion: As if, for inſtance, any one ſhould attempt to deny publickly the Exiſtency of a God, and his Providence, to ſet up plurality of Gods; to worſhip fictitious Gods, or Idols in Gods ſtead, to ſpread abroad Blaſphemies, for to worſhip the Devil, enter with him into a Compact, and ſuch like Actions. For, if theſe are kept within the compaſs of Peoples Thoughts, without breaking out into publick or outward Actions, they are not puniſhable by the Law, neither can any Humane Power take Cognizance of what is contained only, and hidden in the Heart. And, as to what concerns thoſe Ceremonies which have been annexed to Religious Worſhip, though it be undeniable, that one of the main Points, towards the maintaining a good Order in the State is, that a due Uniformity, ſhould be obſerved in the ſame: Nevertheleſs, Sovereigns need not be ſo very anxious on this Account, becauſe theſe Differences

ences do not Overturn Religion it ſelf; ither do they (as ſuch conſidered) poſe Subjects to raiſe Diſturbances, and ſſention in the State. Neither can Sovegns be any great Looſers by the Bargain, their Subjects differ in ſome Ceremonies, more, than if they were divided into eral Opinions, concerning ſome Philoſoical Doctrine. But, this is beyond all ubt, that, if under a Religious Pretext, bjects pretend to raiſe Factions, which may ove dangerous to the State, or hatch other ret Miſchiefs; theſe are Puniſhable by e Supream Magiſtrates, notwithſtand- their Religious Pretences; for, as Reli- on (in its ſelf conſidered) is not the cauſe Vices; ſo ought it not to ſerve for a oak, wherewith to cover and protect ſuch acherous Deſigns. So, the *Roman Senate* l acquit themſelves very well in their Sta- n, when they Aboliſhed theſe Debauche- s, which were crept into the State, with e *Bachanals*. But thoſe Sovereigns, who ve tranſgreſſed theſe Bounds, by compel- g their Subjects to a Religion of their own vention, have, without doubt, abuſed that wer, wherewith they were entruſted. Nei- r have theſe Princes acquitted themſelves ch better in their Station, who have Per- uted their Subjects, for no other Reaſon, t becauſe they Profeſſed a Religion differt from their own, without making a due quiry, whether their Doctrine were Erro- ous or not. Thus the Proceedings of *Pliny* e Younger, (a Man otherwiſe of a very Lev. 39. 2. 10.

good

good Temper) againſt the Chriſtians in *Bithynia*, cannot in any wiſe be juſtified; For he confeſſes himſelf, That he never was preſent at the Tryals of the Chriſtians; and was therefore ignorant both of their Crime, and conſequently, of what Puniſhment they deſerved. For theſe are his Words: *I only aſk ſome of them ſeveral times, whether they were Chriſtians; which they having conſtantly Profeſſed they were, I ordered them to be carried to the Place of Execution; it being plain to me, That, of what Nature ſoever their Confeſſion might be, ſuch an inflexible Humour, and obſtinate Behaviour, ought not to go unpuniſhed.*

Plin. lo. Ep. 97.

Of the Nature of revealed Religion.

§. 8. But the Condition of Mankind being ſuch, That it was impoſſible by the ſole help of Natural Religion, to attain to that Felicity which was propoſed by the great Creator; it had pleaſed the Great and All-wiſe God, to reveal unto us Mortals his Will; and to inſtruct us by what means we may obtain his Favour, and how he expects to be Worſhipped by us. It is for this reaſon, that no body of a right Underſtanding ought to make the leaſt Scruple, but, that all ſuch Matters as God has revealed to us, in a manner ſurpaſſing our Natural Underſtanding, ought to be reverenced by Mankind, and to be received with a general conſent and ſubmiſſion. Among the ſeveral Doctrines, thus revealed, the Article of Juſtification, or the Purging us from Sins through the Merits of our Saviour, was one of the Principal ones. And, I am of Opinion, that theſe bloody Sacrifices, which from the very Beginning of the

the World were Inſtituted by God's Command, were ſo many Emblems of this our Redemption by the Blood of Chriſt; for, without this ſuppoſition, it would ſeem ſcarce Rational, that a living Creature, ſenſible of Death and Pains, and which cannot be killed without great Torments, ſhould be deſtroyed for the Honour of its Creator. As if Man ſhould enter into the Work-Houſe of an Artificer, and by deſtroying his Handy-Work, pretend to do him an extraordinary Honour. This moſt Antient way of Sacrificing (the chief Badge of True Religion, before it was Corrupted by Ignorance or Superſtition) though it was no ſmall addition to Natural Religion; yet did it cauſe no alteration as to the Exerciſe of it. For, in the State of Natural Freedom, every one had a right to Sacrifice, though at the ſame time, every one was not obliged to Sacrifice for himſelf. For, this Ceremony of Sacrificing being only an Emblem, repreſenting the future Redemption of Mankind, one and the ſame Sacrifice might anſwer that End, in reſpect to all that were preſent at the time of the Sacrifice. From hence it was become a Cuſtom, that the Heads of each Family uſed to Sacrifice for the reſt; and if more Families were aſſembled in order to Sacrifice, it was to be Adminiſtred by him that was choſen by the reſt, for that purpoſe. And it is obſervable, that the ſame Perſon that had the Right of Sacrificing, had alſo the Power of preſcribing time and place for that Sacrifice. Thus when afterwards God had Ordained the Ceremony or Sacrament of Circumciſion; *Abraham* did Adminiſter the

the ſame in his Houſe, as being the Father of his Family. What we have alledged concerning the Right of Sacrificing, may be proved from thence, that both *Abel* and *Cain*, after they had left their Fathers Houſe, did Sacrifice. And by ſeveral Paſſages in *Geneſis*, we are informed, That the Antient Patriarchs (being Fathers of their Families) did erect Altars. So, *Micha* ſet up a Houſe of Gods at home, during the Anarchy in *Iſrael*, there being then neither King nor any other Man, that took care of the Publick Worſhip; thus attributing to himſelf (though unjuſtly) the ſame Right, which the Ancient Fathers of Families had been poſſeſs'd of in more Antient Times.

Gen. 4. 3, 4.

Jude 17, 5, 6.

Amongſt the Jews there was a ſtrict Union betwixt the Church and State.

§. 9. It had pleaſed God, according to his Wiſdom, not to ſend our Saviour, or the Meſſias into the World ſoon after the Creation, at a time when the whole World was not ſtock'd with a ſufficient number of Inhabitants; leſt his Sufferings might be obliterated by Oblivion, or by a too long Tract of Time, turned into a Fabulous Relation: But he was to appear amongſt us, after the whole Earth was filled up every where with Inhabitants, and Mankind was arrived, as it was, to its Age of Perfection. It was alſo thought convenient, and almoſt neceſſary, that the Meſſias ſhould not appear in this World all upon a ſudden, but after his Coming had been long foretold and expected, in order to raiſe a more ardent deſire after him in us Mortals; and that he might find the eaſier a Reception amongſt us, when his Deeds were found ſo agreeable to what was Prophecied concerning him, ſo many Ages before

And, that theſe Predictions or Prophe-
night not, through length of time, come
:cay, and be buried in Oblivion, God Al-
ity had in a moſt peculiar manner, recom-
ded them to the Care and Cuſtody of the
,amongſt whom, he, as it may be ſaid, kept
Records of Propheſies; it being the moſt
y, that that ſame Nation, from whence
Meſſias was one day to have his Off ſpring
an, upon Earth, would preſerve them with
: utmoſt Care, to their great Honour and
intage. It was queſtionleſs in a great
ſure for this Reaſon, that God entered
i them into ſo ſtrict a League, Circumci-
being made the Bagde, whereby to diſtin-
i them from other Nations: And being
wards become a very numerous People,
freed from the *Ægyptian* Bondage, he
ſelf eſtabliſhed at once, both their Civil
ernment and Religion, (which was not to
e, till the appearing of our Saviour on
h;) and this in ſuch a manner, that there
always to remain a ſtrict Union betwixt
r Religion and State. Therefore the Ad-
iſtration of Religious Worſhip was com-
ed to one particular Tribe amongſt them,
) whom, according to God's ſpecial Com-
d, no Lands were allotted, leſt they
ht thereby be inticed to mind Temporal
eſſions and Riches, more than God's Ser-
; but were to be maintained out of the
ths and other Revenues belonging to the
ar, in which Senſe God is called, *The Por-
of the Levites.* There was alſo a certain
:e aſſigned for the Publick Exerciſe of Di-

vine Worſhip, with Exlcuſion of all otl
and their whole Religion was thus diſpoſe
God's peculiar Order, that the ſame coul
be put in practiſe, unleſs it were in a free
tion, independent from any Foreign Pc
This was the true Reaſon why the Jews, t
they would overturn the Foundation of
Religion, could not be entirely United
any Foreign State. And, as the Jewiſh
gion and State were of the ſame Date;
Laws both Excleſiaſtical and Civil having
Conſtituted at the ſame time, and contain
one Book; ſo was the Union betwixt thei
ligion and State, ſo entire, that the firſt
not remain ſtanding, after the fall of the
and therefore the deſtruction of the Te
and of the Commonwealth of the J ws
an infallible Sign of the total aboliſhme
their Religion. They were called God's
ple, and the Holy People, becauſe the
Jewiſh Nation publickly profeſſed the Tr
ligion.

Who was the Supream Head of the Jewiſh Church.

§. 10. But, becauſe God himſelf had
bliſhed the Jewiſh Religion and Ceren
and fortified them by very ſevere Law
body upon Earth had Power to make th
alteration in them, or to add any thing
to diminiſh from them. The Kings, *Sa*
Uſiah paid dearly for it, becauſe they at
ted to interfere with the Levites in thei
fice. And thoſe of the Jews that intro
a Foreign Religious Service, are in the
Scripture Branded with Infamy. So that
Kings had no further Power in Religiou
cerns, than the Supream Inſpection, tha

one in his Station (not excepting the High
ieſt himſelf) did Exerciſe his Office, accor-
ng to God's Commands; and that the Eccle-
ſtical Conſtitutions were kept inviolable.
ither did the Tribe of *Levi*, or the Prieſt-
Order make up a ſeparate Body independent
m the State, but they were actually conſi-
ed as part of the Nation, and Subjects of
ir Kings; who, as we read, ſometimes De-
ed them for ſeveral Crimes, and if negli-
t in their Office, uſed to give them ſevere
bukes. King *David* went further, for he,
naintain a decent Order in the Church, diſ-
ed the ſeveral Eccleſiaſtical Functions a-
ng the Prieſts and Levites, and ordered
t the Singers and Door-waitors ſhould take
ir places by Lott, which nevertheleſs was
done without the Advice of the Chief Men
l Elders of the People, and the whole Tribe
Levi. In ſo doing, he did not aſſume to
ıſelf the Power of Diſpoſing or Altering
thing in their Religion, but only over
ſe that were Ordained by God Almighty for
t Function, *viz.* to Eſtabliſh ſuch an Order 1 Chron. f.
ong them, the better to enable them to 26. ſeq.
rciſe their Function without Confuſion.
, when afterwards, inſtead of the Taberna-
a Temple was to be Erected, that is to ſay,
en inſtead of a ſlight and decayed Building,
ſoſt noble and firm Structure was to be
lt, the ſame was not undertaken without
l's Advice. This Temple being the Prin-
al of all Publick Structures, it was the
g's Care to ſee it Repaired in due time, who
might levy a Tax for that uſe, and provide

for the neceſſary Expences of the Work
it is very remarkable, that we do not rea
the Scriptures, that any of thoſe Kings
introduced Foreign Service among the J
did ever attempt to force by Threats, or ot
wiſe, their Subjects to ſuch a Worſhip,
rather by ſeveral Allurements enticed the
follow their Example, and that ſuch as
thus ſeduced, did, as well as their King,
ceive Condign Puniſhment from God, acc
ingly; And that ſuch among the Jews a
horred this Idolatry, ought not to be lo
upon as Rebellious Subjects upon that ſ
but as Perſons that did bear this Publick
lamity with Patience. And, as thoſe K
that Aboliſhed Idolatry and Foreign Wo
amongſt the Jews, are highly extolled in
Scriptures, ſo thoſe Impious Kings, that
the Authors of this Idolatry, were b
high Rank, they bore in the State, ex
ted from the ordinary Puniſhment, which a
ding to God's Ordinance, was elſe to be
cted upon all others, that ſhould attempt
troduce Idolatry. Laſtly, another remar
Obſervation may be made as to the Jewiſh
gion; that, whereas there was ſo ſtrict an
ty betwixt the State and Religion, tha
latter might juſtly be called the Found
Stone of the firſt, and God had expreſl
joyned them an exact obſervance of it,
forfeiture of the quiet Poſſeſſion of that C
try, where their Commonwealth was Eſta
ed; the Felicity of the State, depende
ſolutely from the due obſervance of that
gion, and the Civil Magiſtrates were to

C

cognizance of all ſuch Matters, as might prove either dangerous or deſtructive to it; as it may plainly appear by the Law of God, preſcribed in this behalf, in the Books of *Moſes*.

§. 11. The Chriſtian Religion differs in many points from that of the Jews; not only becauſe it repreſents our Saviour to us, as he has already appeared upon Earth, and thereby has freed us from theſe many Ceremonies and Sacrifices, which were ſo many Emblems of his future coming amongſt us; but alſo, becauſe the Chriſtian Religion is, by God's peculiar Providence, endowed with ſuch Qualifications, that it ought, and may be received by all Nations without Prejudice, and conſequently deſerves the Name of an Univerſal Religion; whereas the Divine Worſhip of the Jews, was ſo adapted to that State, as ſcarce to be ſuitable to any other, being unacceſſible to any other Nation but their own; the Chriſtian Religion on the other hand, is now-a-days not tyed up to a certain Place or Temple, but every where *Men may pray, lifting up holy hands.* We need not appear before God with ſumptuous Sacrifices; but thoſe Sacrifices which are acceptable to God, are to be purchaſed without Gold or Silver. Neither is the Miniſtry of the Goſpel granted as a peculiar Priviledge to one particular Nation or Family, but the Chriſtians in general are called *Prieſts before God*, and no body is excluded from that Miniſtry, provided he be endued with the neceſſary Qualifications; except that St. *Paul* forbids Women to Teach. Laſtly, Each Nation has an equal ſhare in the Chriſtian Religion; neither can

The Genius of the Chriſtian Religion is quite different from that of the Jews.

1 Tim. 2. 8.

Apocal. 1. 6. 5. 10.

1 Tim. 11. 12.

any of them claim a peculiar Right or Prerogative before others, every one having equal share in the Merits of Christ. *Here is neither Jew nor Greek, here is neither Bond nor Free, neither Male nor Female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.* There is *neither Greek nor Jew, Circumcision, or Uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, Bond nor Free, but Christ is all, and in all.* But because the Christian Religion is not like the Jewish, adapted to one particular State, that had its rise at the same time with this Religion, but was introduced after Civil Societies were erected throughout the World. The main point now in question is, Whether after this Religion has been introduced, it has altered the Nature of Civil Societies, or the Rights of Sovereigns; and whether by its establishment a new sort of Government, separate and independent from the Civil Power, has been introduced? Or, which is the same in effect. Whether the Church is to be considered as a State separate and independent from the Civil Covernment, which ought to be Governed and Maintained by Human Force and Power? By the Word State, we understand a considerable number of People, who being joyned in one Society, independent from another, are Governed by their own Laws and Governors.

Gal. 3. 28. Coloss. 3. 11. *Vide* 1 Tim. 11. 14.

How Moses behaved himself when he laid the Foundation of the Jewish Commonwealth.

§. 12. To trace the very Original of this point, the Behaviour of *Moses*, the Founder both of the Jewish Church and State, must be taken into due consideration; and how far different Jesus Christ, the Saviour of Mankind, and Founder of the Christian Church, shewed himself

himſelf in his Behaviour, from *Moſes*. *Moſes* was commanded by God, to deliver the Poſterity of the Patriarchs from the Bondage of *Ægypt*, and to lead them according to God's Govenant with them, into *Canaan*, the Land of Promiſe; where he was to Erect a New Commonwealth, and to Eſtabliſh their Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Laws at the ſame time. The better therefore to Eſtabliſh his Authority not only amongſt his Country-men, (over whom he had no other Lawful Juriſdiction) but alſo to gain Credit with the *Ægyptians*, that hitherto had kept the others under their Juriſdiction; he did, by his Extraordinary and Miraculous Deeds, give them moſt evident Demonſtrations of his Divine Commiſſion, and of a ſecret Correſpondence with God Almighty. Theſe Miracles ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the Ægyptian King, that his Obſtinacy was at laſt overcome; who elſe, in all likelihood, would not have parted, upon eaſie terms, with ſo vaſt a number of his Subjects; Their number being ſufficient to make up a new and ſtrong People: And the Jews moved by his Miracles, and in acknowledgment of the Benefits received from his Hands, and being ſenſible that *God ſtood by him in all his Undertakings*, willingly received him for their Prince and General. As long as he lived he exerciſed this Princely Authority in the higheſt degree; for, he did Conſtitute amongſt them both their Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Laws, and Ordained and Eſtabliſhed their whole Government. He uſed to Adminiſter Juſtice, Inflict Puniſhents upon thoſe that were found Criminal, he had the Power of Conſti-

tuting

tuting Magiſtrates and others, that were to aid and aſſiſt him in his Office, and thoſe that attempted againſt his Authority, he made ſenſible of their Folly, by inflicting moſt ſevere Puniſhments upon them. There was all that time no occaſion for the levying of Taxes upon the People, except what was requiſite for the Maintainance and Ornament of their Publick Religious Service. He was very watchful for the Preſervation of the People, and if they were Attack'd by their Enemies, uſed to defend them by Force of Arms. Laſtly, when he knew that he was ſhortly to depart this Life, he Conſtituted his Succeſſor, who was to be their General, and under whoſe Conduct they were to be put into Poſſeſſion of the ſo long deſired Land of Promiſe; from whence it is very evident, that *Moſes*, as long as he lived, bore the Office of a Prince, and that he was the Founder of the State or Commonwealth of the Jews.

What, on the other hand our Saviour did when he eſtabliſhed his Church.

§. 13. But if we look upon our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, he acted in a quite different manner; from whence it was very evident, that his intention was not to Erect a new State here upon Earth. 'Tis true, he gained to himſelf a great deal of Credit and Authority by his Miracles; but theſe were no terrifying Miracles, or ſuch as ever proved injurious to any. So, when his Diſciples would have perſuaded him, to command fire to come down from Heaven, and conſume thoſe that refuſed to receive him, they met with a ſevere Rebuke. The main Demonſtrations he uſed to give them of his Divinity, always tended to the benefit

Luke 9. 54 55.

of

of others, and the Miracles performed by him, were of ſuch a nature, as muſt needs attract the love and favour of all Men; and at the ſame time were apparent and convincing Proofs of his Divinity, not any thing leſs than a Divine Power being able to cauſe a new Motion or Alteration in the courſe of Nature, without Natural means. For *he went about doing good, and healing all that were oppreſſed of the Devil.* All which had not the leaſt Relation towards the laying of the Foundation of a new State. He had ſome Diſciples, but theſe were few in number, unarmed, poor, of a mean Profeſſion and Condition, and of ſo little Authority, that it was impoſſible for them to make the leaſt pretenſion of ſetting up a State of their own, or of raiſing any Commotions or Diſturbances in another State. And when the multitude, in acknowledgment of the benefits received by his Doctrine and Miracles, would at ſeveral times have proclaimed him King, he abſconded and made his eſcape. The principal Care he took of his Followers, was to inſtruct them by his Doctrine, from whence they were called Diſciples, and they in return, uſed to give him the Name of Maſter or Teacher. Neither did he Conſtitute any new Laws, (at leaſt not any that could be ſuppoſed to have any reference towards the Eſtabliſhment of a new State) but the Antient Law, as far as it was given to Mankind in general, was explained, and the People exhorted to a due obſervance of it. He did never execute the Office of a Judge, nay he refuſed to be an Arbitrator, to convince the World that his coming

Acts 10. 38.

Luke 12. 13, 14.

Joh. 8 11.

coming was intended for no such purpose. Lastly, he did himself pay Taxes to others; and, tho' it was in his Power to prevent it, suffered himself to be Judged and Executed. All which is altogether inconsistent with the Nature and Office of a Temporal Sovereign.

Christ did not Constitute a new People.

§. 14. This will appear more clearly to us, if we duly consider that Christ never acted according to the Rules of those that intend to lay the Foundation of a new State. For, their principal and first care is to Constitute a new People, that is, to bring over to their side such a number of People, as are willing and sufficient to be joyned under one Civil Government. This Multitude of People is either Assembled at once, and drawn out of another Commonwealth, as *Moses* did; or by degrees brought over out of other Commonwealths, as *Romulus* gathered the People of *Rome*. But it is easie to be seen, that our Saviour's Intention was of a quite different Nature. His Disciples were not so many in number, as to have the least resemblance with a Nation or People, neither were they instructed in those matters, which have the least relation to the Establishment of a new Commonwealth. Their dependance from him was not near the same, which Subjects have of their Prince, having never sworn Allegiance to him; but only as Disciples from their Master, being influenced by the Love and Admiration they had both for his Person and Doctrine. Sometimes a great Multitude of People would flock about him, but these only came to hear him Preach, and to be Spectators of his Miracles, which being done, they return'd to their respective

John 6. 66, 67, 68.

ſpective homes. And Chriſt never ſhewed the leaſt inclination to command over, or to withdraw them from the Obedience due to their Sovereigns. Laſtly, when the time of his Death approached, his moſt truſty and particular Friends and Followers abſconded, and durſt not as much as make any publick appearance. When we therefore ſpeak of Chriſtians, we do not underſtand a certain Nation or People, ſubject to any particular Government, but in general, all ſuch, as make profeſſion of a certain Doctrine or Religion.

Chriſt had no Territories belonging to him.

§. 15. One of the main points which thoſe that intend to Eſtabliſh a new Commonwealth ought to take care of, is how to acquire conſiderable Territories, where their new Subjects may ſettle themſelves and their Fortunes. So, *Moſes*, when he ſaw it not fecible to ſet up the Jewiſh Commonwealth within the bounds of *Ægypt*, led them into the Deſert, and through ſuch places as were not ſubject to any particular Government; till ſuch time, that they Conquered the Land of *Canaan*, and rooted out its Antient Inhabitants. Neither were the Jews, before they were put into Poſſeſſion of this Country, the leſs free, for they were then a Nation independent from any Foreign Power; and though they ſometimes marched upon the Borders of other Princes, nevertheleſs were they not, during that time, ſubject to their Juriſdiction; partly, becauſe no body ever laid any particular claim to thoſe Territories, or if ſome of them did, they marched through them like Soldiers of Fortune, ready to make good their Pretences and Titles to theſe Lands, by

by the edge of their Swords. But Chriſt did ſay, of himſelf, *That he was ſo poor, as he had not where to lay his head.* He was always ſo far from attempting to acquire any Poſſeſſions or Territories, or to encourage his Followers to do it, that he rather choſe to live during the whole courſe of his life in other Territories and under Civil Juriſdiction.

Mat. 8. 20.

Chriſt did not exercise the Office of a Prince.

§. 16. There are a great many other remarkable Circumſtances from whence it may plainly be inferred, that Chriſt never did, nor intended, to appear, as a Prince, here upon Earth. When the Mother of the Sons of *Zebedeus*, begged of our Saviour, that her Sons might be prefer'd to the Chiefeſt Dignities in the Kingdom of Chriſt, he rebuked her for her ignorance, and Propheſied to his Followers a very ſlender ſhare of outward Splendor and temporal Preferments, but abundance of Perſecution; nay, he plainly told and enjoyned his Diſciples, that they ſhould not ſtrive for Pre-eminency over one another, as Temporal Princes do. *It ſhall*, ſays he, *not be ſo amongſt you*, ordering them to live in an equal and Brother-like degree with one another. And, to remove, by his own Exemple, all remnants of Pride, he in their preſence, did abaſe himſelf to that degree of Servitude, as to waſh the feet of St. *Peter*. Laſtly, it is of great Conſequence at the firſt Eſtabliſhment of a new Commonwealth, that its Founder be long-lived, that thereby he may be enabled, to lay a more ſolid Foundation of the new Government. For this reaſon it was that *David*'s Soldiers would not any longer ſuffer him to expoſe his Perſon

Vid. Mat. 20. 20.

Luke 20. 26.

John 13. 9, 10.

Perſon in Battel, leſt *the light of Iſrael ſhould be extinguiſhed*; the loſs of his own Perſon being eſteemed more than of a great many thouſands. But our Saviour did ſurrender himſelf voluntarily to death, after he had ſcarce four years appeared in Publick, and that without appointing a Succeſſor, who was to exerciſe any Power or Authority over thoſe, that followed his Doctrine, 2 Sam. 21. 17.

§. 17. As now Chriſt, during his abode here upon Earth, did not make the leaſt appearance or outward ſhew, reſembling the greatneſs of Temporal Princes; and, as out of all his Actions there cannot be gathered the leaſt thing, which may prove his intention to have been to erect a new State or Commonwealth; ſo it is ſufficiently apparent, that, during the whole courſe of his publick Converſation on Earth, he employed all his Time and Labour in publiſhing the Word of God. So that in the Quality of a Doctor or Teacher, he appeared to the Eyes of all the World; whereas his Office of being the Saviour of Mankind, was at that time underſtood, only by ſuch, as were capable of applying the Antient Oracles of the Prophets to his Perſon. Furthermore, our Saviour to eſtabliſh and ſhew his Authority, made uſe of ſuch Miracles, as might be evident proofs of his Divine Power, partly, becauſe the Antient Ceremonies which were to be aboliſhed, were firſt ordained by God's ſpecial Command; partly, becauſe the principal Heads of his Doctrine were ſurpaſſing all Human Underſtanding. But, as for his way of Teaching, it *But that of a Doctor or Teacher.* John 1. 29.

it was plain, and free from Vanity, with
all affectation, wherein appeared noth
which juſtly might cauſe the leaſt ſuſpicion
fictitious Worſhip. Notwithſtanding his D
ſtrine appeared thus in her Native and P
Simplicity, yet, ſo powerful were its Char
that all what Human Art, Dexterity, E
quence has been able to invent of that ki
if compared to the ſolid Expeſſi
of our Saviour, is only ſuperficial and
ſipid. Neither do we find, that he made
of any outward means to promote his D
ſtrine. He did not call to his aid the Pow
and Authority of Civil Magiſtates, to fo
Mat. 11. 15. 13. 9. 43. People to receive his Words. The Word w
there, *He that can take, let him take it.* A
Luke 8. 8. 14. 35 how often do we read that he exclaimed
them, *He that hath Ears to hear, let him he*
It was not God Almighty's pleaſure to p
People head-long into Heaven, or to make t
of the new French way of Converting the
by Dragoons; But, he has laid open to us t
way of our Salvation, in ſuch a manner, as n
to have quite debarr'd us from our own choi
ſo, that if we will be refractory, we m
prove the cauſe of our own Deſtruction. Ne
ther, did it pleaſe Almighty God to inveig
Mankind by the Allurements of Profit an
Temporal Pleaſures, but rather to forew
thoſe, that ſhould follow his Doctrine, nothi
but Adverſities, Calamities, Perſecutions an
all ſorts of Afflictions; reſerving the chief
Reward till after this Life, where alſo ſuch
had neglected his Doctrine, were to recei
condign Puniſhment. This is the moſt evide

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Proof that can be given of the intrinſick Value and extraordinary Worth of the Chriſtian Doctrine; the natural Conſtitution of Mankind in general, being ſuch as to be chiefly moved with thoſe Objects that are preſent and affect our Senſes; whereas thoſe things that are repreſented to our Minds at a diſtance, are but faintly received, and often meet with dubious interpretations. It is worth our Obſervation, what Method Chriſt made uſe of in his Doctrine, *viz.* That *he taught as one having Authority*, as it is expreſſed by *Matth.* 7. 29. not as the Scribes, that is; he had no recourſe to the Authority and Traditions of their Antient *Rabbi*'s, ſo as to ſet up for an Interpreter of their antient Laws, but he ſpoke Lord-like, and as a Legiſlator, who had a lawful Authority belonging to himſelf, to propoſe his Doctrine. It is my Will and Command, who is it that dare gain-ſay me? And in this one point only Chriſt exerciſed his Regal Power, as well as his Office of Teaching, when he promiſed great and ample Rewards to all ſuch, as ſhould receive his Doctrine, threatening with Eternal damnation all thoſe that ſhould refuſe to hearken to it. *He that believed not, is condemned already*, are his Words; quite contrary as it is with other ſpeculative Sciences, the Ignorance of which makes no body liable to Puniſhments. And, in this Senſe is to be taken what is related by our Saviour by St. *John*; The reaſon why the Jews were ſo bent to the Deſtruction of Chriſt, was, becauſe they abominated his Doctrine; nor would they acknowledge him for the ſame Meſſias, which was promiſed ſo

John 3. 18.

18. 37.

long before. But having at that time no C
minal Juriſdiction belonging to themſelv
they were oliged to forge Treaſon and Reb
lion againſt him, as if his deſign was to ma
himſelf King of the Jews. Jeſus therefo
being examined by *Pilate* concerning this Ac
ſation, *did not deny it, but witneſſed a good C*
1 Tim. 6. 13. *feſſion*, viz. *That his Kingdom was not of t*
World, which is as much as to ſay; His Kin
dom was not like thoſe of Temporal Princ
who exerciſe Acts of Sovereignty over th
Subjects. For, if he had pretended to
ſame Prerogatives, he might have commanc
his Servants, not his timerous Diſciples,
thoſe ſtrong Legions of Angels, who alw
ſtand ready to his Command, to protect th
Lord from falling into the Hands of *Pil*
And when *Pilate* replied, *That he then profe*
Joh. 18. *himſelf to be a King*, he anſwered, That *he*
King, but a King of Truth, and that for
cauſe he came into the World, that he ſhould b
witneſs unto Truth. Pilate, by what Chr
had profeſſed, ſoon underſtood that this m
ter did not fall under his Cognizance, a
therefore anſwered, *What is Truth*? As if
would have ſaid, if nothing elſe can be o
jected againſt you, but that you make pr
feſſion of Truth, I have no further buſin
with you; for Truth is not ſubject to a
Temporal Juriſdiction. Neither did the La
of the Roman Empire, wherein ſo many N
tions were comprehended, take any Cogn
16. 14, 15, zance at that time, of the various Opinio
24, 19 26, of their Subjects in matters of Religio
31, 32. as it plainly appears out of the *Ac*
an

out of the Apology of *Athenagoras*. was for this reaſon that *Pilate* would e diſcharged him, if he had not at laſt ught it more convenient, to appeaſe the e of the Jews by Sacrificing him, though ocent, to their Fury. But after Chriſt had e made this open Confeſſion, he refuſed to ve any further anſwer to *Pilate*, being ſen- e that *Pilate* was not deſirous to be inſtructed his Truth. The Kingdom of Chriſt there- e, is a Kingdom of Truth, where he, by force of Truth, brings over our Souls to Obedience; and this Truth has ſuch power- Charms, that the Kingdom of Chriſt needs to be maintained by the ſame forcible ms and Rules, by which Subjects muſt be t in Obedience to the Civil Powers. And the ſame reaſon it is, that there need not ſtabliſhed a particular State, in order to pagate and preſerve Truth, no more, than s neceſſary, to ſet up a ſeparate Common- lth, where Philoſophy and other Sciences to be taught. For, it is the true Genius Truth, and ſuch her intrinſick vertue, as to onvincing in it ſelf, provided ſhe be but re, ſented in her genuine Shape; and the fruits, ich ſhe produces for the benefit of Man- d, be dexterouſly propoſed to the view of World. But the divine Truth has, beyond others, this particular prerogative, that vertue, and with the aſſiſtance of God's ice our Minds are inſenſibly drawn into a ief of thoſe things, that otherwiſe ſeem to paſs human Underſtanding.

The Apostles propagated the Doctrine of Christ.

§. 18. Christ, after having withdrawn himself from Human Conversation, did Substitute in this Kingdom of Truth his Apostles, but not in the same Rank with himself; not as Kings, but as Ministers and Heralds, to publish his Doctrine. *As my Father, said he,* Joh. 20. 21. *had sent me, even so send I you.* But how had the Father sent him? *viz. To preach the* Isa. 61. 1. S. Luk. 4. 18. *Gospel to the Poor, to heal the broken Hearted, to preach Deliverance to the Captives*, as it is expressed by *Isaiah* and St. *Luke*; So, that the Title of King, of Truth, was a peculiar Title, Mat. 23. 10 appertaining to Christ alone. He tells them, Mat. 28. 20. *Be you not called Masters, for one is your Master, Christ.* And their Calling was, to Teach all Nations, to observe all things whatsoever Christ had Commanded. St. *Paul* called his Function *a Ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus, to testifie the Gospel of the Grace of God.* The Apostles had the first Rank Act. 20. 24. Ephes. 4. 11. among Christ's Followers, but the word Apostle implies as much as a Missionary, or one that is sent by another. So, that they had no other Power or Authority from themselves, to Teach their Doctrine, but to Instruct others in what they had received from Christ. And, when, after the Death of our Saviour, they were quite dejected, and put into a panick Fear, He, by sending the Holy Ghost did so comfort and strengthen them, that they appeared in Publick, and inspite of the *Jews*, and all the Danger that threatned them, 1 Cor. 14. 10. preached the Doctrine of the Gospel. But the diversity of Languages being a main obstacle towards the spreading abroad of any Doctrine,

Doctrine, the Apoſtles were by the Holy Ghoſt upon *Whitſunday*, Endowed with the Gift of ſpeaking various Languages, to enable them, to bring the Nations into one Union of Faith; It being otherwiſe a Maxim of State received by thoſe that intend to lay the Foundation of a new Commonwealth, to take care, that no more than one Language be uſed among their Subjects. It is alſo worth our taking Notice of, that among thoſe Languages which the Apoſtles ſpoke, there were Languages of ſome Nations, that were then Subjects to the *Parthian Empire*, which was at that time in the ſame degree of Enmity and Hatred with the *Romans*, as may now a-days be obſerved betwixt the *Germans* and *Turks*. Notwithſtanding this mortal Hatred betwixt theſe ſeveral Nations, and the difficulties which were to be ſurmounted in keeping a Correſpondence betwixt them, which could not but be a main Obſtacle to their being ever united under one Head or Government, the Union of Faith was introduced among them, under the Kingdom of Truth.

The Apoſtles had received their Power of teaching from God alone, without any dependance from any Temporal Power.

§. 19. The Apoſtles had nevertheleſs much more Authority for the exerciſing of their Function, than others, who profeſs Human Sciences or Doctrines; For, theſe cannot pretend to any lawful Authority of Teaching, in publick, unleſs with Conſent, or at leaſt Connivance of the Higher Powers, who may put a ſtop to them at Pleaſure. But the Caſe is quite different with the Apoſtles, who having received their Commiſſion of Teaching from Chriſt, the ſame cannot be annul-

led by any Civil Power, ſo, as to oblige them either to be ſilent, or to alter their Doctrine, when commanded; neither can they be eſteemed diſobedient or rebellious, if they refuſe, in this Point, to follow the Commands of Civil Magiſtrates. It is very remarkable what Chriſt ſpoke to his Apoſtles by way of Preface, when he was juſt going to put them into Poſſeſſion of their Office, Theſe were his Words: *All Power is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth.* And that this Power might not be miſtaken for a Temporal Authority, as exerciſed by Sovereigns over their Subjects, but to be underſtood of the Power of leading Mankind, and ſhewing them the true Way to Salvation, plainly appears out of our Saviour's Words, when he ſpeaks thus concerning himſelf to his heavenly Father: *As thou haſt given him power over all Fleſh, that he ſhould give eternal Life to as many as thou haſt given him. And this is eternal Life, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent.* And in St. *Luke: He that heared you, heared me, and he that deſpiſed you, deſpiſed me; and he that deſpiſed me, deſpiſed him that ſent me.* The holy Apoſtles therefore could not by any Civil Power on Earth be abſolved from this Command of Preaching the Doctrine of Chriſt throughout the World, and Baptizing ſuch as received this Doctrine. They were inſtructed with the Gift of doing Miracles, as a Proof of their Authority, and Verity of their Doctrine, which being now ſufficiently propogated and received by ſo many, theſe Miracles are become uſeleſs: Like it is the

Mat. 28. 18.

S. Joh. 17. 2, 3.

Lu. 16.

Cuſtom

Cuſtom in ſome Conntries, that new Laws are publiſhed, under the Sound of Trumpets, which is never repeated after the firſt Promulgation. They having then received their Authority from Chriſt, it was a vain Expropriation which was made to St. *Paul* by the *Athenians*, when they ſaid: *What will this Babler ſay?* Neither could they be juſtly puniſhed, becauſe they went about to aboliſh the antiently received Rites and Ceremonies; And when they were commanded to deſiſt from ſpreading their Doctrine they might legally refuſe to be obedient in this Caſe; For, *they ought to obey God rather than Men*; Nay, they were rather to undergo corporal Puniſhment, than to renounce the Doctrine of Chriſt. And thoſe Princes, that violently oppoſed the Chriſtian Doctrine, are ſo far from having exerciſed a legal Civil Authority, that they have rather made themſelves guilty of a moſt enormous Crime againſt the Divine Majeſty, by violating his Legats or Miniſters, it being ſufficiently known, that publick Miniſters, ſent by Temporal Princes, are eſteemed inviolable.

Act. 17. 18.

Acts 4. 19. 5. 29.

Mat. 10. 28, 32, 33

§. 20. Beſides this Power of Preaching the Goſpel, (even in oppoſition to any Civil Command) there is nothing to be met withal in the whole Apoſtolical Doctrine, that has the leaſt reſemblance of Command or force. 'Tis not to be denied, but that ſometimes Teaching cannot ſo well be performed without ſomething of Force or Command, eſpecially among young People; But this has its off-ſpring from the Paternal Authority, and is from hence derived unto others. But the Apoſtles

The Apoſtles never aſſumed a Power to Command.

ſtles were to Teach whole Nations, ſuch as were independent from others, and paſt all School Diſcipline. And what could one ſingle Body, or perhaps two, and that without Weapons, pretend to do by Force againſt whole Nations and Commonwealths? It was therefore; That the Apoſtle ſaid: *The Weapons of our Warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of Strong-holds, caſting down Imaginations, and every high thing, that exalted it ſelf againſt the Knowledge of God; and bringing into captivity every Thought to the obedience of Chriſt.* And theſe Weapons are more plainly deſcribed in the foregoing 6 *Chap.* to be, *Patience, Tribulations, Neceſſities, Diſtreſſes, Stripes, Impriſonments, Labours, Faſtings, Watchings, Pureneſs, Knowledge, Kindneſs, the Holy Ghoſt, unfeigned Love; the Word of Truth, the Power of God, the Armour of Righteouſneſs,* and ſuch like, as may more at large appear out of ſeveral places, eſpecially out of the Epiſtle to the *Epheſ.* 6. 11, out of the 2*d.* to the *Corinth.* 8. 8, 9, 7. to the *Coloſſ.* 1. 23, 25; and out of the 2*d.* to the *Theſſal.* 3. 12, 14, 15. 'Tis true, in the Parallel of the great Supper, the Maſter of the Feaſt orders his Servants, to go out, and compel them to come into his Houſe, which is as much to ſay, as to oblige them to come in, but not by forcible Means or Threatnings; or to pull them in by Head and Shoulders, but in ſuch a manner as was ſuitable to an invitation to ſo great a Feaſt, by Prayers and Exhortations, and making them ſenſible of the Majeſty and Greatneſs both of the Maſter and the Feaſt. In the ſame manner

2 Cor. 10. 4. 5.

2 Cor. 6. 4. ſeq.

Luk. 14. & 3.

manner as St. *Paul* expreſſes it: *We are Ambaſſadours for Chriſt, as though God did beſeech you by us; we pray you in Chriſts ſtead, be ye reconciled to God.* And, what can be more evident,, than that Ambaſſadours never pretend to any Authority over thoſe, unto whom they are ſent, but that their Negotiations ought to be accompliſhed by force of Reaſon and Perſwaſions. The word alſo of *feeding*, which is uſed by St. *John* implies nothing of Command, but only the due Adminiſtration of Food; eſpecially, ſince our Saviour told expreſly to *Peter*, *Feed my ſheep*, not thine; leſt he ſhould be apt to imagine by the ſaid words, he had liberty given him to uſe his Flock according to his own Diſcretion; But, to make him ſenſible, he was bound up to the ſame Rules, which the Patriarch *Jacob* had formerly preſcribed to himſelf. Laſtly, our Saviour is very plain in this Point, when he ſays: And *whoſoever ſhall not receive you, nor hear your Words, when you depart out of that Houſe or City, ſhake off the Duſt of your Feet, leaving them to receive condign Puniſhment for this Contempt of the Goſpel, at the Day of Judgment.* This was actually performed by St. *Paul* at *Antiocha*, and *Corinth*. But thoſe Rules which are preſcribed in the 1 Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, Chap. 11. from *v.* 2, to 22, 23, 24; and 1 *Corinth.* Chap. 14; as alſo in *Tim.* 2. 8 *Ver. Chap.* 5. 9 *Ver.* and ſome other paſſages of the ſame nature, do not imply any Command or Legiſlative Power, but are only Moral Precepts, and Points of Doctrine.

2 Cor. 5. 20. Chap. 21. Gen. 31, 38, 39, 40. Mat. 10. 14, 23. Acts 13. 50, 51. 18, 6.

§. 21. But

Whether the power of Teaching does indirectly imply any Command.

§. 21. But it may perhaps be objected, Th the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors, might at le by indirect ways and means, exerciſe an A thority over Chriſtians, *viz.* by denying th the Doctrine of the Goſpel, which ſhews M the way to Salvation, unleſs they would other Matters alſo ſubmit themſelves to the Authority. For, who would not rather ſu mit to any thing than to be deprived of th Doctrine, which leads us to Heaven, and fr us from eternal Puniſhment? But it cannot the leaſt be ſuppoſed, that ſuch Extortio could ever enter into the Apoſtles Thoughts who joyfully gave for nothing, what they h received for nothing, and judged it a heino Offence in *Simon*, who pretended to make Trade of the Goſpel. St. *Paul* ſays: *Thou I preach the Goſpel, I have nothing to glory of for Neceſſity is laid upon me; yea, wo is unto m if I preach not the Goſpel.* Neither do I ſe which way they could have made their marke by the Goſpel. For, what is not underſtood, is not valued; if therefore they would raiſe i the People a deſire to the Goſpel, it muſt d neceſſity be firſt taught them. Neither is ther any Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the ſame Men who rather would looſe their Lives than neg lect their Divine Commiſſion, ſhould be guilty of ſo hainous a Crime. And the Doctrine o the Goſpel, being now a-days ſufficiently ſpread abroad, it would be in vain for the Cler gy of one Province or Commonwealth, t deny the Doctrine of the Goſpel to its Inhabi tants, in caſe they would not comply with their Demands; ſince, if they ſhould perſiſt

1 Cor. 9. 16.

in

in their Folly, there would not be wanting ſuch as would ſupply their Places without reluctancy. Neither did Chriſt abſolutely commit his Doctrine to the ſole Management of the Prieſts, in ſuch a manner, as by Tradition to be tranſplanted from one to another; but, he ordered it to be put in Writing, not to be kept cloſe up by any one certain Colledge or Society, who were inveſted with a particular Prerogative to look into it, like it was at *Rome*, with the *Sybilline* Oracles; and granted a general Priviledge for every Body to peruſe it, and to inſtruct themſelves in the Chriſtian Doctrine, and in ſuch other Points as belonged to the Miniſtry of the Goſpel. But if a foreign Prieſt ſhould attempt to forbid the exerciſe of Religious Worſhip in another Commonwealth, ſcarce any body, unleſs quite prepoſſeſſed with Superſtition, would make the leaſt account of it. The *Venetian* Commonwealth has given us a notable inſtance of this Nature in our Age; For, tho' the *Venetians* are *Roman Catholicks*, nevertheleſs did they oblige their Prieſts to exerciſe the Miniſterial Function, in ſpite of the Pope's Commands to the contrary.

Whether the power of Abſolution imply's any right to a Sovereignty?

§. 22. It ſeems to be a Matter of the greateſt Conſequence, and therefore the more to be taken notice of, when it is ſaid: That our Saviour *did give the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven to St. Peter*, and the reſt of his Apoſtles; ſo, that, *whatſoever they ſhould bind on Earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven; and whatſoever they ſhould looſen on Earth, ſhall be looſened in Heaven.* The whole Matter, duely examined, appears to be of the higheſt moment, *viz.* to have

Mat. 16. 19. & Joh. 20. 23.

the Power of excluding Sinners from the Ki
dom of Heaven, and of admiting ſuch as
freed by their Abſolution; For what is it, t
may not be obtained from a Sinner in this c
eſpecially if the Prieſt refuſe him Abſoluti
unleſs he promiſes a blind Obedienc
his Demands? It ought therefore to be ta
into ſerious conſideration, what is the
meaning of this Metaphorical Locution,

What is to be understood by the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.

The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; ſi
the ſame admits of divers Explications in
holy Scripture. In the *Rev.* 1. 18. the So
God ſays of himſelf, That *he has the Keys of*
and of Death, which is explained by ſome, t
he has the Power of inflicting Puniſhment,
if he would ſay: *I have power to deſtroy*
Soul and Body in Hell; as it is expreſſed in
Matthew 10. 28. Tho' by this alſo migh
underſtood, the power of delivering fi
Death and Hell, and to deſtroy the force
Death and Hell. It is alſo ſpoke of the *Scri*

Luk. 11. 52

That *they have the Key of Knowledge*, whic
by ſome applied to their Function of Tea
ing Wiſdom to others. Tho' this may alſo
underſtood from the holy Scripture it ſ
the true Spring of Knowledge and Wiſdc
the Interpretation of which did in a moſt
culiar manner belong to their Function.
the Book of *Revelation*, the Son of God is ſ

3. 7. 9. 1. 20. 1.

to have the Key of David, that he opened, and
Man ſhutteth, and ſhutted, and no man open

V. 22.

And in the 22th *Chapter* of *Iſaiah*, it is ſaid
Eliakim, the Son of *Hilkiah*; That *the K*
of the Houſe of David ſhall be laid u
his Shoulder; ſo, that he ſhall open, and n
ſh

ſhall ſhut; and he ſhall ſhut, and none ſhall open. Where the word, *Key*, cannot be taken for an abſolute or deſpotick Power, but for a Miniſterial Function; like to that of a Steward, ſuch a one as St. *Paul* had profeſſed himſelf, and his Fellow Apoſtles. Out of theſe ſeveral places, if duely compared, this general Aſſertion may be made, that, to have the Keys of a certain thing, is as much as to ſay, to have the means to attain, or to come to it. But how far theſe Means are at our diſpoſal, and what uſe ought to be made of them, muſt be gathered out of other Circumſtances. 1 Cor. 4. 1.

§. 23. Furthermore, it is to be conſidered, That the uſe of theſe Keys is appropriated to the binding and forgiving of Sins: For as ſoon as our Sins are taken away, (or which is the ſame in effect) if our Sins are forgiven, (other Means of Salvation being not neglected) the Kingdom of Heaven is open to us. But as long as the Sins remain upon us, and produce their pernicious Effects, the Kingdom of Heaven is ſhut up againſt us, nothing of unclean being to enter there. If therefore a true Judgment is to be given, of what ſhare of Power the Apoſtles had in forgiving, and retaining of Sins, a due enquiry muſt be made, of what is to be underſtood, by forgiving and retaining of Sins? He, that does an unjuſt Act, commits an Offence both againſt the Legiſlator, whoſe Authority is thereby voilated, and againſt him, who is damnified by it. Beſides this, there are ſome Offences of ſuch a Nature, as to touch whole Societies, as far as their Reputation is thereby impair'd, the Crime committed *what is to underſtood by abſolving from Sins.*

mitted by one of their Members, being oftentimes attributed to the whole Body. It is therefore from the Damage, which the Legiſlator, a ſingle Perſon, or whole Society, receive by ſuch an Offence, that an Action lies, againſt the Offender; In the ſame manner as a Creditor has a right to ſue his Debtor for a Debt, contracted with him. In which reſpect it is, that Sins are often called Debts in the holy Scripture. But, in this double, or ſometimes, threefold Action, which ariſes from one Offence committed againſt ſeveral Perſons, each is to be conſidered as ſeparate from the other; ſo, that, tho' one Action be taken off, the other remains notwithſtanding this, in
Mat. 5 23. full force: For, as God does not remit Sins,
24. without Satisfaction given from the Offender, to the offended Perſon; So, tho' the Offender be reconciled to the offended, nevertheleſs is he obliged to ſeek for Remiſſion of his Sin by God; And, if the Offence be hainous, and of ſuch a Nature, as to be ſcandalous to a whole Society, he ought there, alſo to endeavour his Reconcilation, by begging forgiveneſs of them. Therefore, to remit a Sin, is the ſame Thing, as to remit an Action, or to releaſe one from an Action, which the offended Party had againſt the Offender. And he, that has an Action againſt another, by reaſon of ſome Offence committed againſt him, may properly be ſaid, to have Power to remit that Offence or Sin, as far as his Action reaches. For, God himſelf does not make uſe of his uncontrouled Power of remitting of Sins; ſo, as without any further Reſpect, and by his mere Pleaſure

Pleaſure to remit their Sins to ſome, and to puniſh others. For, to pardon Offences promiſcuouſly, without any further regard but bare Pleaſure, is in effect to render Laws ineffectual; and Laws are made to no purpoſe by him, who at the ſame time grants a Licenſe of Treſpaſſing againſt them. And, becauſe it was beyond all Human Power to give Satisfaction to God Almighty for our Offences, our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt has made uſe of a moſt wonderful Moderation betwixt Juſtice and Mercy, in giving due Satisfaction in his own Perſon; So, that, whoever by the Faith appropriates the ſame to himſelf, thereby obtains Remiſſion of his Sins from God. And, as to that part, which belongs to Men to forgive, God has commanded them not to be rigorous, if the Offender beg forgiveneſs, becauſe every one of us muſt every day expect Forgiveneſs of his Sins from God Almighty; and we all commit ſometimes Offences againſt our Neighbours, who, if they would all act rigorouſly with us, our Condition would be moſt deplorable. Wherefore we ought *to forgive our Debts, as we would have others forgive us their Debts.* Neither are we to be too rigorous againſt ſuch Sinners, as have by their Offences proved ſcandalous to a whole Society, but if they ſeriouſly repent, we ought not to deny them our Pardon. It is alſo worth our further Obſervation, That the following Words; *Verily I ſay unto you, whatſoever you ſhall bind on Earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven, and whatſoever you ſhall looſen on Earth, ſhall be looſened in Heaven*, are ſpoken by Chriſt alſo of the Remiſſion of an Offence

Mat. 6. 12, 14, 15. c. 5. 25, c. 18, 25. Luke 17. 3.

Mat. 18. 18.

Offence by the Party offended; Neither c the Senſe of the preceding Words allow apply them only to his Diſciples, they be ſpoken not only to the Apoſtles, but to Believers in general.

Under whoſe name and authority the Apoſtles did exerciſe this power of Abſolution.

§. 24. Suppoſing then that the Apoſtles v to remit ſuch Sins as were not committe gainſt them, it muſt neceſſarily follow, T they, when they remitted Sins, did it ei in the name of ſuch particular Perſons, aga whom the ſaid Sins were committed, or in name of a whole Society, or elſe in the n of ſome (Human or Divine) Legiſlator. N it is certain, that no body can remit anot Man's lawful Action, without his order or c ſent, no more than you can lawfully take a another's Right or Property; and therefor is abſolutely neceſſary, firſt, to make our pe with the Perſon offended; without whi we ought not to ſeek for Pardon from God mighty; at leaſt, he, that has offended ou to take firſt, a firm Reſolution, to give Sa faction, as far as is in his Power. Chriſt ſa *Firſt, be reconciled to thy Brother, and then c and offer thy Gift.* And St. *Paul* offered to m Satisfaction to *Philemon*, for what Damage had received from *Oneſimus*. From hence riſes that general and common Rule: That *Reſtitution be not made, there can be no Remiſ of the Sin.* For, it is ridiculous, and a co tradiction in it ſelf, to profeſs to God Almig ty a true Repentance for an unjuſt Act, and the ſame time enjoy the benefit of it. But, for the Remiſſion of ſuch enormous Crimes were committed againſt a whole Society, t

Mat. 5. 24. Luke 19. 8.

v. 18, 19.

Apoſt

Apoſtles had their ſhare in it, as is evident out of the 1 Epiſtle to the *Corinth. c.* 5. 4, 5. and 2*Corinth. c.* 2. 10. *c.* 11. 29. and will be more treated of hereafter. It will be ſufficient in this place to take notice, that what Authority was exerciſed by them in this kind, was much inferior to that power which they had received of Retaining and Forgiving of Sins. But to remit Sins in the name of thoſe that had the Sovereign and Legiſlative Power in the State, did not belong to the Apoſtles, their Commiſſion and Power being not to interfer with the Civil Juriſdiction, or to diminiſh its Prerogatives; Wherefore Civil Magiſtrates juſtly may, and do puniſh, Offenders according to the Laws of the Realm, notwithſtanding they have made their peace with God. The only way then for the Apoſtles was, to forgive Sins in the Name of God, by whoſe Authority they had received their Commiſſion, as is evident out of theſe Words: *Whatſoever you ſhall bind on Earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven, and whatſoever you ſhall looſen on Earth, ſhall be looſened in Heaven.*

§. 25. But, if we propoſe to form to our ſelves a true Idea of the Power granted to the Apoſtles, when the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were given unto them, and how far it extends it ſelf, we muſt take into ſerious Conſideration, in what manner Chriſt himſelf did remit Sins, whilſt he lived among us upon Earth. This is ſufficiently manifeſt out of ſeveral Paſſages in St. *Matthew*, 9. 2. *Mark*, 2. 3. *Luke*, 5. 20. *c.* 7. 47, 48, 39, 50. where our Saviour verifies his Power of forgiving of

Of what nature this Power was

Sins, by a Miracle, which could not but b
effect of a Divine Power. Beſides this, t
was no Plaintiff or Defendant, there wa
open or expreſs Confeſſion of Sin; but as
as Chriſt ſaw their Faith, he pronounced
miſſion of Sin. And, if we peruſe the wh
New Teſtament, it will moſt evidently
pear, that neither Chriſt nor his Apoſtles
forgive Sins in a judicial way, where Cri
are firſt examined; but where the Faith
Chap. 3. v. 18. the forgiveneſs of Sins was the immediate c
ſequence of it. *He that believed on him,*
St. *John, is not condemned, but he that belie*
not, is condemned already. Neither is that C
feſſion (whether tacit or expreſs) which ou
to precede the Remiſſion of Sins, like to th
Confeſſions, which in Judicial Courts are
Joſ. 7. 19. c. 20. 21. quired to be made by Offenders, and are
to meet with deſerved Puniſhment; But it
a reſemblence to thoſe Confeſſions, that
made to Phyſicians, by ſuch of their Patie
as labour under a ſecret Diſtemper, hop
thereby for Relief in their Diſeaſes. As i
expreſſed in the 32 *Pſalm, v.* 3, 4, 5. of *Da*
Neither can true Repentance be ſuppoſed wi
out ſuch a Confeſſion; for, how can we
forgiveneſs either of God, or our Neighbo
whom we have offended, unleſs we confeſs
Prov. 28. 13. acknowledge our Error Laſtly, it is to
obſerved, That Chriſt and his Apoſtles, duri
the time of Grace, here upon Earth, did
intend to ſet up a judicial Court, but
preach, and to announce repentance and f
giveneſs of Sins. But of the great Day
Judgment, it is ſaid, That God will proceed

Judgme

Judgment in a ſolemn manner, there, *the Supream Judge will ſit upon the Throne of Judgment, there Seats are to be prepared for the Aſſeſſours, the Books are to be opened, and every one is to be judged according to his Works*; and that without Appeal: It ought alſo to be taken notice of, That, tho' we have obtained pardon for an Offence from our Neighbour, this does not always and neceſſarily imply a Pardon from God Almighty; for it, is poſſible, that, notwithſtanding a Pardon obtained from Men, God has not abſolved us from that Offence; as for inſtance, if the Offender be without true Faith, or an Hypocrite: And, on the other hand, it is poſſible that our Offences are forgiven by God, when forgiveneſs has been denied us by Men; as in caſe, our Neighbour refuſes to pardon an Offence, tho' we beg Forgiveneſs, and profer Satisfaction to be made; or, a Prieſt, being overcome by private Paſſion, ſhould deny us Abſolution; When therefore the Prieſt ſays; *Thy Sins are forgiven unto thee*, it is not always to be taken for granted, that Chriſt does then make uſe of the ſame Words; For, God alone is the Judge of our Faith, and even our Thoughts; But Men can only give their Judgment according to ſuch Circumſtances, or outward Signs, as effect our Senſes, which often prove deceitful, and far different from what we keep concealed within us. And, tho' in Civil Courts of Judicature it is ſufficient, if Judgment be given in a Caſe, according to what is proved by Evidence, notwithſtanding the ſame may be contrary to Truth; it is quite otherwiſe with God Almighty, who, Rev. 20. 12.

ſearching into the very bottom of our Hearts, cannot be deceived by Hypocriſie. And, tho' the Prieſt ſhould tell thee a hundred times over and over, thy Sins are forgiven unto thee, and thou art deſtitute of Faith, it can avail thee nothing. Laſtly, it ought not to be forgotten, that, when God did give unto the Apoſtles the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, he did not thereby ſurrender all his Power of forgiving Sins, or of receiving penitent Sinners into his Favour; or did debar himſelf from making uſe of this Power, unleſs by the means of Prieſts, ſo as to reſerve only to himſelf the Supream Prerogative of remitting of Sins, in caſe of an unjuſt refuſal of the Prieſt; No, by no means; for if this were granted, it would be in vain for us to pray every day; *Forgive us our Sins.* All theſe things duely conſidered, are evident Proofs, that, when it is ſaid, that the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were given unto the Apoſtles, it is to be underſtood from the Doctrine of the Goſpel, which treats of the remiſſion of Sins through our Faith in Chriſt; when the Apoſtles taught this Doctrine to the Believers, it was ſaid of them, that they forgave Sins, in the ſame ſenſe as they are ſaid to ſave others by Preaching the Goſpel to the Believers. And on the contrary, when they preach the Goſpel to the Unbelieving, they are ſaid to have bound them, ſo, as that they ſhall be bound in Heaven. The Apoſtles therefore, when they announced to the Believing the Grace of God and Forgiveneſs of Sins through Chriſt, did open the Gates of Heaven; and they ſhut them againſt ſuch, as,

being

being unbelieving, refuſed to accept this Doctrine. So, that, when a Miniſter of the Church applies this Doctrine of the Goſpel to one particular Perſon, he ſays thus much to him: *If thou believeſt according to thy Confeſſion, I announce and confirm unto thee Remiſſion of thy Sins, through the Merits of Chriſt; ſo, that thou mayeſt be now aſſured, that the ſame are forgiven by Chriſt in Heaven: But if thou not believeſt, thy Sins are not forgiven.* For, remiſſion of Sins is the neceſſary conſequence of Faith, even before the Abſolution is pronounced by the Prieſt; it being not left to the arbitrary Pleaſure of Men, whether to apply the gracious Doctrine of Remiſſion of Sins to a believing Perſon, or not; But, he that believes, is thereby juſtified before God, notwithſtanding he be prevented from receiving Abſolution from the Prieſt. Out of what has been ſaid, it is evident, that, according to the Intention of our Saviour, theſe Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were not to be made uſe of for the Eſtabliſhment of a Temporal State, or to gain other Temporal Advantages. For, Chriſt ordered the Apoſtles to preach Remiſſion of Sins, and give for nothing, what they had received for nothing; but not to traffick with the Word of God. Neither did they, by preaching the Goſpel, make Men ſubject to themſelves, but to Chriſt; Nay, St. *Paul*, could not underſtand without Indignation, that ſome among the *Corinthians* would be called from him, ſome from *Apollo*, &c. 1 Cor. 1. 12, 13.

§. 26. But of what nature ſoever their Power or Function might be, the ſame was granted *Whether St. Peter had any Prerogative granted him before the reſt of the Apoſtles?*

in an equal degree to all the Apoſtles, ſo, that none of them cogld claim a particular Prerogative, or, at leaſt not any right of Commanding the reſt. For, if we peruſe thoſe ſeveral Paſſages in the holy Scripture, where the Apoſtolical Function was eſtabliſhed, and conferred upon them, there are not the leaſt footſteps of Inequality to be found among them. And that Paſſage *St. Luke* 22. 26, 27. Epiſtle to the *Galat.* 2. 9, 14. By *St. Matth.* 16. 18. which the *Romaniſts* make ſuch a ſtir about, contains nothing, that can give any legal Pretence Superiority to St. *Peter*, and much leſs to the *Roman* Biſhops over all the Chriſtian Churches. St. *Peter* had in the abovementioned place made his Confeſſion, That *Jeſus was the Son of the living God.* This excellent Confeſſion did deſerve a ſuitable anſwer from Chriſt, who ſaid, thou art *Peter*, as if he would ſay, perſiſt in this thy Confeſſion *Peter*; which does in no wiſe imply, that *Peter* ſhould thereby have deſerved thoſe Prerogatives over the other Apoſtles, as the *Romaniſts* do pretend to. For, St. *Peter* did not make this Confeſſion for himſelf only, but in the Name of all thoſe, unto whom Chriſt ſpoke at that time. In the ſame manner as he ſpoke in the Name of the reſt of the Diſciples by St. *John* 6. 69. *We believe, and are ſure, that thou art Chriſt the Son of the living God.* Neither was *Peter* the firſt, that made this Confeſſion; For, before him the ſame had been made by *John* the Baptiſt, by St. *Andrew*, *Philip* and *Nathanael.* And it is no difficult Task to prove out of ſeveral paſſages of the holy Scripture, that none could be taken for a true

Mat. 28. 18, 19, 20. c. 23. 8. S. Joh. 20. 21, 22, 23. c. 13. 14, 15, 16.

Joh. 1. 34, 36, 42, 45, 49. Mat. 10. 32, 33. John 11 27. Acts 4. 12.

Diſciple

Diſciple of Chriſt, unleſs he had made this Confeſſion; And our Saviour, to ſhew, of what conſequence this Confeſſion was, added theſe Words: *Upon this Rock I will build my Church*: Which is as much as to ſay, this Doctrine, that Jeſus is the Son of God, is the main Foundation Stone, whereupon is to be built the myſtical Edifice of the Chriſtian Church. So, that no further inference can be made from theſe Words, than what is expreſſed to the ſame purpoſe by St. *John*, 20. 31. and in the 1 Epiſt. of *John*, 2. 22. *c.* 3. 20. *c.* 4 2. *viz.* That the fundamental Article of the Chriſtian Religion is: *That Jeſus of Nazareth is the true Meſſias, and the Son of the living God.* c. 8. 37. c. 9. 20. 22.

§. 27. It alſo is worth our Conſideration, whether the Power of Excommunication, which was uſed by the Apoſtles, and in the Primitive Church, implies any Sovereign Authority, ſuch as ought to be exerciſed in a State? Unto this we anſwer in the Negative; provided the ſame be taken according to the proper Uſe and End of its genuine and primitive Inſtitution. For, that this Power may with conveniency enough, be made uſe of, (if miſapplied) to ſerve an ambitious Deſign, and to keep the poor People in awe, is ſufficiently proved by Experience. It ſeems to me, that there was a remarkable Difference betwixt the Excommunication of the Jews, by virtue of which they were excluded from their Synagogues, and the Excommunication uſed among the Primitive Chriſtians. For, among the Jews, where the Sovereigns and the People profeſſed one and the ſame Religion (which *Whether the Power of Excommunication implies any Sovereign Right or Juriſdiction.*

alſo was entirely united with the State) it might eaſily happen, that the Excluſion from the Synagogue, did carry along with it ſeveral Inconveniencies in Civil Affairs, and might therefore not unjuſtly be conſidered at the ſame time, as a Civil Puniſhment; which, rendered the Offenders infamous in the Commonwealth; Eſpecially, ſince, according to the Fundamental Conſtitution of that Government, there were ſeveral things belonging to Religion puniſhable by their civil Conſtitutions. But, it being already put beyond Queſtion, that neither our Saviour, nor his Apoſtles, did ever pretend to any Civil Power; and that beſides this, the Primitive Chriſtians lived under the Juriſdiction of other Princes, how could their Excommunication, Ban, or what other ſort of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure was uſed among them, be ſuppoſed to have any influence upon the Civil State and Condition of the Chriſtians; or to have been of the ſame nature and force (properly ſpeaking) as Civil Puniſhments are? This will more plainly appear, if we examine thoſe Paſſages, where this Matter is compleatly treated of in the New Teſtament: It is ſaid in *Matthew* 18. 15,16,17. *If thy Brother ſhall treſpaſs againſt thee, go, and tell him his Fault, betweene thee and him alone; If he ſhall hear thee, thou haſt gained thy Brother. But, if he will not hear thee, then take with thee One or Two more, that in the mouth of two or three Witneſſes every Word may be eſtabliſhed. And if he ſhall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the Church, but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a Heathen Man and a Publican.* Certainly out of this paſſage, nothing

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can be inferr'd that has any relation to a Temporal Juriſdiction or Sovereignty; but barely ſhews us, how differences ought to be compoſed among Chriſtians. So St. *Paul* ordains, that we ſhall rather leave Differences to the Arbitration of a Brother, or rather take wrong, than to go to Law with a Brother before the Unbelievers, to the great ſhame of the Chriſtian Name. So, that, tho' it is elſe required from the Offender to beg the Pardon of, and offer Satisfaction to the Perſon offended; nevertheleſs, if he neglect his Duty in this Point, Chriſt commanded, that the offended Party ſhall firſt offer a Reconciliation, and try before he brings his Action againſt the Offender, whether Satisfaction for the Injury received, and a Reconciliation may not be obtained by a private Arbitration. If this prove fruitleſs, he ſays, he ought to take along with him two or three Witneſſes, to try whether they can prevail with his Adverſary to bring him to a more pliable Temper; and at the ſame time, may teſtifie, That the offended Party, did offer every thing which might tend towards a Reconciliation betwixt them; But, if after all this, he remain obſtinate, the Difference ought to be referr'd to the whole Congregation of the Believers, reſiding in that Place; (for I ſee no reaſon why by the word *Eccleſia* or Church, the *Preſbyters* only ſhould be underſtood.) But, if they alſo cannot prevail with their Authority over his Stubborneſs, let him then be unto thee like a Heathen man and Publican, unto whom his Treſpaſſes will not be remitted, becauſe he refuſes to acknowledge

1 Cor. 6. 1, 2.

Vid. Mat. 5. 40.

his

his Offence, or to give Satisfaction for it; which is as much as to ſay, fly his Converſation, like that of a vile Perſon; which every one may freely do, without being thereunto compelled by any Superior Power. For, that the Jews did not converſe with the Heathens and Publicans, except in Civil Affairs, is of no great force againſt us, it being certain, that the Heathens and Publicans were not ſo infamous in themſelves by any Civil Conſtitution, the Jews being at that time ſubject to the Heathens, who matter'd not their Converſation. Beſides this, it is left to every one's free Choice, whom he will admit into his familiar Converſation; and always was a certain Rule among the wiſer Sort, not to be familiar with People of a perverſed Humour, and an ill Life, whoſe Converſation every body may avoid, as he finds it moſt convenient. So, the Apoſtle bids us, to reject a Man that is a Heretick, after the firſt and ſecond Admonition, leſt we ſhould be infected with his falſe Doctrine, for which he is to expect due Puniſhment from God Almighty. Neither does that paſſage, in the 1 Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, 5. 1. and following Verſes, and in the 2 Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, 13. 2, 10. where St. *Paul* declares, that according to the Power given him, he intends to deliver the inceſtuous Perſon to Satan, (take it in what ſenſe you pleaſe) involve any Civil Juriſdiction or Command; no more, than thoſe in the 1 Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, 6. 9. *ſeq.* in the 1 *Timothy*, 1. 20. in the 2 Epiſt. of *John*, 5. 10. All which paſſages ſignifie no more, than that every body may freely decline the

Tit. 3. 10. Theſ. 2. 14. 2 Pet. 2. 1. 2 Gal. 1. 8, 9.

the Converſation of ſuch People, as he thinks may be reproach, or hurtful to him, without implying a prejudice to their Reputation in Civil Affairs. So, that, by avoiding the Converſation of ill Livers, we are not obliged to retire from the World; that is, we need not be ſo ſcrupulous in avoiding ſuch Converſation, as to neglect our Duty, or other neceſſary Buſineſs appertaining to Civil Society. And in this ſenſe it is appliable as well to Chriſtians, as to Pagans, of an ill Converſation.

The Commiſſion of the Apoſtles contains nothing reſembling any Sovereign Power.

§. 28. Laſtly, if we caſt our eyes upon thoſe Inſtructions, which Chriſt gave to his Apoſtles and Diſciples, it will evidently appear, that their Commiſſion had not the leaſt relation to the Eſtabliſhment of a Sovereign State. A State cannot be without a Supream Head, who having Power to beſtow Honours and Dignities, this generally proves the occaſion of ambitious Deſigns. A State cannot be maintained without conſiderable Revenues, which entices Men to Avarice. But, if we look upon our Saviour, we ſhall find that his main Endeavour is to keep his Diſciples from ambitious Deſigns and Covetouſneſs. The Inſtruction given by Chriſt to his Diſciples in S. *Matthew* 10. when, after having endowed them with the Gift of Miracles, he ſent them, as it was, to make their firſt Tryal, among the Jews, deſerves particularly here to be taken notice of; tho' it is not to be queſtioned, but that the ſame Inſtruction remained in force for the moſt part, after they were ſent among the Gentiles. The firſt Precept in this Inſtruction

Mat. 10. 1, 2, 3, 4. c. 23 8. Mark 9. 33. Luke 9. 46. Joh. 13. 13, 14, 15, 16.

on is, That they ſhall take heed not to abuſe the Chriſtian Doctrine, and the Gift of Miracles for the heaping up of Gold and Silver, which are otherwiſe accounted the Sinews of a State. As you have received it for nothing, ſo you ſhall give it for nothing, is the Command, which was very well obſerved by *St.* Act. 3. 6. *Peter*, when he ſaid, *Silver and Gold have I none.* And, leſt they ſhould, under pretence of Subſiſtance and acquiring Neceſſaries, be enticed to Avarice, Chriſt forbid them, even to provide two Coats, Shoes, Staves, or a Purſe; but that they ſhould be contented with what they received from their Auditors. It is not to be denied, but that this Command may chiefly be applied to ſuch Journeys, as were not to be too long, or in far diſtant Countries, But on the other hand it ought to be taken into conſideration, that the Allowances, to be given to thoſe that preached the Goſpel, are compared to the Wages of Workmen, which ſeldom amount to any more, than is neceſſary for Subſiſtance; or, at the moſt, cannot exceed a private Fortune, having not the leaſt compariſon with thoſe vaſt Revenues, which are required to maintain a State. As may be ſeen in *Mat.* 10. 10. *Luk.* 10. 7. 1 *Cor.* 9. 11. And the paſſage in the 1 Epiſt. to *Timothy* 5. 18. chiefly relates to the Prieſthood, where it is expreſly forbidden not to make a Trade of their Office, and to fly Avarice, as the root of all Evil; and conſequently of all thoſe Abuſes and Superſtitions, which have overwhelmed the Church of *Rome*, And, that by their Number they might not appear terrible, Chriſt only

only ſends them two and two, with this expreſs Command, not to force their Doctrine upon any Body, but to ſeek for reception by a kind Salute, and, if they find them inclined to receive their Doctrine, to abide there, but to leave thoſe, whom they found unworthy, and not ready to hear their Words, and even to ſhake off the Duſt of their Feet. After theſe Inſtructions given, Chriſt foretels them what Perſecutions and Dangers they muſt undergo, all which, he will have them to overcome, not by Force, but by Patience, by ſhewing their Innocence, or flying to another Place. The quite contrary is practiſed in Temporal Governments, whoſe Founders lay this down for a ſure Maxim of State, *Tu contra audentior ito. Never ſhrink before your Enemy.* After the Aſcenſion of our Saviour, they diſperſed into all Parts of the World, according as they were inſpired, without having appointed any certain place of Reſidence for their Government, from whence they might receive their Inſtructions or Commiſſions, and where they were to be accountable concerning their Negotiation, or where to fix the Center of their Correſpondency; at leaſt, thus much is certain, that nothing like it is recorded in the holy Scripture. Neither was it in their Power to have acquired any great Territories, it being obvious, that they lived always under another Juriſdiction, and in ſuch Places, where the Government was already Eſtabliſhed. Nor had they any Authority to exact upon their Auditors, except what they were pleaſed to allot them by voluntary Contribution; For, if they ſhould

Mark 6. 7.

Mat. 5. 10, 11.

have

have attempted any thing beyond it, no doubt but thoſe Magiſtrates, under whoſe Juriſdiction they lived, might legally have ſtopt their Proceedings, as done in prejudice of their Authority. For, in caſe the generality, or the greateſt part of the Chriſtians ſhould have attempted to follow the Example of ſome of their Brethren at *Jeruſalem*, who were for having all things in Common, it had been lawful for their Sovereigns to put a ſtop to their inconſiderate Deſign, which needs muſt have tended to the great detriment of the Commonwealth. Laſtly, the Apoſtles did not oblige their Auditors to leave their antient Habitations, like *Moſes* led the *Iſraelites* out of *Ægypt*, but left them in quiet Poſſeſſion of their former Station and honeſt Functions, not pretending to any Innovation, but that they ſhould receive the Chriſtian Religion.

Acts 2. 44, 45. c. 4. 5.

The Kingdom of Chriſt implies no Temporal Sovereignty

§. 29. It is furthermore to be conſicered, whether the Doctrine of Chriſt, which unites our Hearts under the Obedience of Chriſt by the Faith, does not, by vertue of this Union, conſtitute a certain Sovereignty reſembling the Sovereign Power of our Civil Governments? To this we anſwer in the Negative; as it may plainly appear, to thoſe, that will duely conſider the Nature and Qualifications, which are in the holy Scripture attributed to the Kingdom of Chriſt, and the Kingdom of Heaven here upon Earth. It is without queſtion, that the Union of the Believers under Chriſt, their King, ought to be conſidered as a Kingdom or Empire, but ſuch a one as is not of this World, and conſequently of a quite different

different nature from that Sovereign Power, which is exerciſed in a Civil Government. Chriſt is there the King, who having withdrawn himſelf from our ſight, has as it may be ſaid, ſettled his Court in Heaven. His ſubjects are diſperſed throughout all parts of the World, where the Chriſtian Doctrine is taught and received by the Believers, who, by the intrinſick, Vertue of this Doctrine, are confirmed in their Faith, and made proof againſt all the Temptations and Malice of this World. The Civil Power does not reach this Kingdom; true Piety being not to be implanted by Human Force, which is inſufficient to procure God's Grace, or raiſe thoſe inward Motions which are chiefly acceptable to God Almighty; and without which, all our exterior Actions, that may be enforced by a Civil Authority, are to be deem'd vain and fruitleſs. For, the Kingdom of Chriſt being a Kingdom of Truth, it requires no Civil Power or Force; For, Truth, by the help of the Chriſtian Doctrine, and with the aſſiſtance of God's Grace, does gently inſinuate it ſelf into the Hearts of Men, and the Rewards or Puniſhments, which thoſe are to receive, that either accept or deſpiſe this Doctrine, are reſerved for the Life to come. He that will be pleaſed to examine thoſe ſeveral Paſſages, where mention is made of the Kingdom of Chriſt, or the Kingdom of Heaven, may ſoon be convinced, that not any thing is to be met withal there, which has the leaſt reſemblance to a Civil Power or Sovereignty. Thoſe that expect to enter into this Kingdom, muſt qualifie themſelves by Repentance. Mat. 3. 2. c. 4. 17. c. 4. 23. Luc. 9. 11.

Mat. 5. 1. *ſeq.* It is ſpoke of Chriſt himſelf, that he went about preaching the Goſpel of the Kingdom of Heaven. The Virtues and Qualifications which Chriſt requires in thoſe, that will enter into his Kingdom, and conſequently be bleſſed with eternal Salvation, have but little relation to the Qualifications of a Subject in a Civil Government. In that Kingdom every one is called great, or the leaſt, according to his Proficiency in the Chriſtian Doctrine, and according to his Obedience or diſobedience to it. We are commanded *firſt to ſeek the Righteouſneſs of this Kingdom.* The great Myſtery of this Kingdom is *the powerful operation of the Word of God.* In this Kingdom are not only ſuffered thoſe that are Foreigners to it, but alſo its Enemies, which is againſt the Maxims, of a Civil Government. The Keys of this Kingdom are contained in the Doctrine of Remiſſion of Sins. And what is taught us concerning Precedency in the Kingdom of Heaven, is quite contrary to what is practiſed in a Civil *State.* It is allowable by the Civil Conſtitutions, for every one to purſue his Right, but, in the Kingdom of Chriſt, he is counted an ill Subject, who will not remit a Treſpaſs to his Brother. The Kingdom of Chriſt is alſo of the little Children. Thoſe that are employed in this Kingdom have different Tasks, and undergo different ſorts of Hardſhip, and yet their Reward is the ſame. This Kingdom is taken from thoſe that refuſe it; whereas it is a Maxim of Temporal Sovereigns, to force ſuch as are refractory to Obedience; and this was the reaſon, why, after the Jews had deſpiſed it,

Mat. 5. 19. c. 7. 21. c. 6. 33. c. 13. 21. 33. 44, 45, 52. c. 24. 47. Mat. 16. 19. Mat. 18. 1. c. 16. 21. c. 23. 8. Mark 9. 33, 34. c. 10. 42. Mat. 18. 23. c. 21. 14. Mark 10. 14. Mat. 20. 1. c. 21. 23. c. 21. 2.

:, it was offered to the Gentiles. He that will c. 25. 1.
njoy the Benefit of this Kingdom muſt not be
oathful. The richeſt find always the
ıfieſt Reception in a Civil State, but *the rich*
Man ſhall hardly enter into the Kingdom of Chriſt. Mat. 19.
le is accounted a good Subject in a State, who 23.
induſtrious, and gathers Riches by all law- Mark 10.
ıl ways and means; but this is reckoned as 23. Luke
perfluous in the Kingdom of Heaven. One 12, 31.
f the chiefeſt Motives which induced Man-
nd to enter into Civil Societies, was, to pre-
rve themſelves and their Poſſeſſions; But
hriſt ſays: *Whoever he be of you, that forſaketh*
t all that he hath, he cannot be my Diſciple. Luk. 14.
nd laſtly of all, he ſays: *The Kingdom of God* 33.
meth not with obſervation; neither ſhall they ſay,
here, or lo there, for behold, the Kingdom of
od is within you. It would be ſuperfluous to c. 17. 21.
ledge more for the proof of it, all the reſt
ing moſt of them the ſame in Subſtance.

§. 30. Though it be evident that, the Union *Whether*
the Believers under Chriſt their King, and *the Church*
at Myſtical Body, whoſe Head is Chriſt, the *be a State?*
embers of all the Believers in general, can-
ot be conſidered as a Temporal State; ne-
rtheleſs, it is worth our enquiry, whether
t all thoſe in General, that profeſs the Chriſti-
Doctrine, may be conſidered as a Body be-
ıging under one Civil Government, or at
ıſt, have a near reſemblance to a Civil Com-
ınwealth? Or, which is the ſame in effect,
hether the Church, according to our Savi-
r's Intention ought to be conſidered as a State
Commonwealth? We take here the Word
ite, in its common Acceptation, *viz.* for a

certain Society of Men, which being independent from any Foreign Jurisdiction, live under the Protection of their own Sovereigns. The main intention of this Question is, that, after we shall have made it appear, That the Church, according to the intention of Christ and his Apostles, neither was, nor could be a State, it may from thence be concluded, whether that Church which pretends to a Sovereignty, considered as such, be Christ's Church? But, to trace the very original of this Question, it ought first of all to be considered, in what Sense the Word *Ecclesia* or Church, is taken in the holy Scripture. The word *Ecclesia* has its off-spring out of the Democracy's of the *Greeks*, whereby they understood a Convention, Meeting, or sometimes, a Concourse of the People, or of a considerable Part of their Citizens, in order to receive Propositions, to consult and make Decrees, concerning Matters belonging to the Commonwealth. It is derived of *Evocare*, or to Call-forth, not, that thereby was always understood an Assembly, summoned out of a greater Multitude, (for I can see no reason why not all the Citizens had a Right to appear in those Assemblies;) but, because they were called out of their private Dwelling-places, and from their ordinary Business, to meet in a publick Place. So, that the original Signification of the Word, *Ecclesia*, implies not that of a State, but only a certain Qualification of a Democratical Government; it being evident, that a great number of Men cannot conveniently give their assent to a thing, unless they be Convened in one

What is understood in the holy Scripture by the word Ecclesia?

one Place. In the Tranſlation the *LXX* Interpreters, this Word is taken for a Convention, or Meeting of a conſiderable number of People; met, not only for the exerciſe of Divine Worſhip, but alſo for unlawful Ends. So the *Greek* word Ἐκκλησιάζειν, is taken for the Calling and Summoning an Aſſembly, about Matters concerning the Commonwealth. But in the New Teſtament, the word *Eccleſia*, is, generally, taken, either, for all the Chriſtians in General, wherever diſperſed, or for the Congregation of the Believers in a certain Country, City, private Houſe, or Family. In either ſenſe, if we duely weigh the Attributes and Actions properly belonging to the Church (for by theſe we ought to judge of the Nature of a thing in Moral Caſes) we do not meet with any thing, which has a relation to a Civil State. The true Encomium moſt frequently given to the Members of the Church is; that they are *Brothers, holy, and redeemed by the Blood of Chriſt.* Their chief Actions are ſaid to be, *to hear the Word of God, to pray unto and praiſe God, to be Charitable, to walk in the fear of God, to Faſt, and to provide for the Poor.* It is ſpoken of St *Paul* and *Barnabas*, That they did Conſtitute Elders in thoſe Churches, which they had planted in *Aſia*, where the word χειροτονήσαντες, is made uſe of, which implies as much, as having made them by Suffrages of the Congregation; in the ſame manner as the Decrees uſed to paſs in the antient Democracies, by the plurality of Votes; by which it appears, that they pretended to no Abſolute Power of Conſtituting Elders over

Pſ. 26 5. Luk. 23. 3 4 c. 38. 24. Act 19. 32 39. Num. 20. 8, 10 Joſ 16, 1, 2. 2 Chron. 15. 9. c. 34, 29.

What actions are celebrated in Scripture as belonging to the Church.

Act. 1. 4, 23.

over them, but such as were approved of by the Congregation. And it is remarkable that these, nevertheless are said to have been made *Overseers over the Church by the Holy Ghost*. So were the Judges, that were set in the Land by *Jehosaphat*, *stiled Judges for the Lord*; because, whoever is fitly qualified for any Office or Function, not contrary to the Word of God, and has obtained the same by lawful ways and Means, may justly be said to have been Constituted in that same Office by God Almighty. And though it belongs most properly to the Church to constitute Teachers, this nevertheless does not imply any Act of Sovereignty; it being evident, that a private College or Society, subject to another Jurisdiction, may lawfully enjoy the same Power. A Dissension being arosen concerning an Article of Faith in the Church of *Antiocha*, they determined, that some of them should go concerning this Question then in dispute, to the Church of *Jerusalem*; And these Deputies were by the rest of the Brethren, conducted out of the Town, in their way to *Jerusalem*; where this Question having been debated, and determined, they sent Word thus, to their Brethren, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and us*, &c. where it is to be observed, that to send Deputies, concerning such Matters, as are not intended in prejudice of the Sovereign Power; for one Congregation to consult another, concerning any Articles of Faith; and to determine any Differences about them, are to be looked upon, as Actions of such a nature, which do not imply a Sovereign and Absolute Power;

Act. 20. 28. 2 Chron. 19. 5.

Act. 15. 2.

Power; but may legally belong to a private Colledge, or ſometimes a private Perſon; provided the Buſineſs in hand be not impoſed upon its Members, but tranſacted and admitted by common conſent. So the Church of *Jeruſalem*, choſe certain Men, who were to be Overſeers of the Poor, which they had a Right to do, as being a Society or Colledge. In the ſame Senſe ought to be taken, what is ſaid in the 2 Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, *c.* 8. 19. That the Churches had choſen one to travel with St. *Paul*. The Church is called *a Flock, which is to be fed by the Biſhops, with the pure Word of God, who are to preſerve it from the Wolves*; That is to ſay, from *Men ſpeaking perverſe things, to draw away Diſciples after them*; Againſt thoſe Teachers of the Church ought to be watchful, not ceaſing to Admoniſh their Auditors to avoid their Snares. What concerns that paſſage in the 1 Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, *c.* 6. 1. and following *Verſes*, it is apparent enough, that there is not any Sovereign Authority or Juriſdiction granted to the Chriſtians, (barely conſidered as Chriſtians:) But the Apoſtle enjoyns them, that in caſe of any Differences in Civil Affairs among the Members of the Church, they ſhould rather refer it to the Arbitration of the Brethren, than to go to Law before the Gentiles, and fall under the Cenſure of being Avaricious. In the following Chapter, it is plainly expreſſed, that no body, by becoming a Member of the Church, does change his Qualification or Function, which belonged to him as a Subject; or that Chriſtianity is inconſiſtent with the Subjection to a Civil Government; a Servant

Acts 6. 1, 2.

Acts 20. 28.

therefore, by being a Chriſtian, does not become a Freeman; neither is a Subject thereby abſolved from the Allegiance due to his Sovereign; concerning the Union and Modeſty, which ought to be practiſed in the Church, or the Chriſtian Congregations, where the Word of God was Preached, and the Sacraments Adminiſtred, St. *Paul* ſpeaks in the 1 Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, *c.* 11. 18. and following *Verſes*; and in the 14 *Chap.* 34, 40 *Verſe*. And, what ſort of Religious Exerciſes was to be uſed in theſe Congregations, is expreſſed in the 1 Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, *c.* 14. *viz.* to be *Hymns*, *Doctrines*, *Tongues*, *Propheſies*, *Revelations*, *Interpretations*; all which are to be applied to Edifie the Congregation; and in the 12 *Chapter*, 28 *Verſe*, the ſeveral Degrees and Functions of the Members of the Church, are thus enumerated: Firſt, *Apoſtles*, ſecondarily, *Prophets*, thirdly, *Teachers*; after that, *Miracles*, then *Gifts of Healings*, *Helps*, *Governments*, *Diverſities of Tongues*; All which are Requiſites belonging to the propagating and eſtabliſhing of the Goſpel, and are Gifts of that ſelf ſame Spirit, who diſpenſes his Gifts to every Man, as he pleaſes; So, that he, that has received more noble Endowments, can therefore not claim any Prerogative, as being a more honorable Member of this Myſtical Body, or pretend to any Juriſdiction over ſuch as are not endowed with theſe Qualifications in the ſame Degree as himſelf. And charity, which is the inſeparable Attribute of all Chriſtians, is more noble and excellent than all other ſpiritual Gifts. Alms are the only Taxes which belong

Ep. Rom. 13 1. 2 Tim. 5 8. 14 c. 6. 1, 2.

Vid Eph. 4. 2.

Eph. 4. 11

1 Cor. 16. 1. 2 Cor. 8. 2, 3, 8.

long to the hurch, and theſe alſo cannot be ex- 1 Tim. 5:
acted by the Sovereign Authority of the Church; 16.
Tho' it be undeniable, that every Church is ob- Phil. 4. 15.
liged to maintain its Miniſters. In the 2 Epiſt. Cor. 9. 14.
to the *Corinthians*, *c.* 11. 28. St. *Paul* profeſſes, 1 Tim. 5.
That *the Care of all the Churches lies upon him*, 18.
to ſtrengthen thoſe that were weak, and to obviate Scandals. And in the next following *Chapter*, he ſays, That the Church of *Corinth* is in no wiſe inferior to other Churches, which were planted by others, who had exerciſed the Apoſtolical Function before him. Neither is any thing to be met withal in the Holy Scripture, which proves the Subordination of one Church to another; Nay, the Congregations of ſmall Towns, and even of private Families, are often ſtiled Churches, as thoſe of vaſt Cities; and thoſe particular Churches, which 1 Theſ. 2.
were planted in *Judea*, are called the Churches 14.
of God. In the Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, *c.* 1. 2 Theſ. 1.
22. *c.* 5. 23. and to the *Coloſſians*, *c.* 1. 18, 24. 4.
Chriſt is called the *Head of the Body of the Church, which he has preſented to himſelf a glorious Church, not having Spot or Wrinkle, or any ſuch thing, but that it ſhould be Holy and without Blemiſh, ſanctified by Chriſt's Redemption, and* Epheſ. 5.
cleanſed with the waſhing of Water, by the Word. 26, 27.
What Qualifications are required in a Biſhop, or a Governour of a particular Church, is expreſſed in the 1 Epiſtle to *Timothy*, *c.* 3. 2. and following *Verſes*; in the 2 Epiſtle to *Timothy*, *c.* 4. 2. in the Epiſtle to *Titus*, *c.* 1. 2, 8, 9, and *c.* 2. 7. All which, if duely examined, have a relation meerly to the Purity of his Doctrine, and his being blameleſs in his Behaviour; and

do not in the leaſt ſavour of any thing properly belonging to the Supream Governours of a State. For, it is ſaid, that he muſt be *the Huſband of one Wife, Vigilant, Sober, of a good Behaviour, given to Hoſpitality, apt to Teach; Not given to Wine, no Striker, not greedy of Filthy Lucre; but patient, not a Bawler, not Covetous. One that ruled well his own Houſe, having his Children in Subjection, with all Gravity; Not a Novice, not lifted up with Pride*; All which are ſuch Vertues as belong properly to a Teacher, or a private Perſon, In the 1 Epiſtle to *Timothy*, *c.* 3. 15. the Church is called, *the Houſe of God*; στύλος καὶ ἑδραίωμα, or, *The Pillar and Ground of Truth*; like we are uſed to affix Proclamations to great Pillars, to the view of every body. Tho' ſome antient Manuſcripts refer theſe words; *The Pillar and Ground of Truth*, to the following Sentence; the Preceding ending with the words, *The Church of the living God*. Then begins a new Sentence thus: *The pillar and ground of Truth, and without Controverſy, great is the Myſtery of Godlineſs. God was manifeſt in the Fleſh*, &c. So, that, in this ſenſe, this Paſſage is parallel to what Chriſt told St. *Peter* by St. *Matthew*, *c.* 16. 18. and to that of St. *John*, *c.* 20. 31. The Titles of Honour belonging to the Chriſtian Church, are recited in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, *c.* 12. 22. where it is called, *The mount of Sion, the City of the living God, the heavenly Jeruſalem, the innumerable Company of Angels; the General Aſſembly and Church of the firſt Born, which are written in Heaven, where God is the Judge of all, and Jeſus the Mediator of the New*

Cove-

Covenant, and the Sperit of juſt Men made perfect. And in the *Revelation*, c. 2. 3. the Churches of *Aſia* are praiſed for their good Deeds, and their Vices expoſed, with a ſevere Commination, that, if they did not repent, their Candleſtick (which is the Doctrine of the Goſpel) ſhould be taken away from them; which is ſufficient to ſhew, that the Light of the Goſpel may be extinguiſhed in particular *Churches.* All theſe paſſages, if duely compared and examined, do not furniſh us with any Matter, proving the Chriſtian Church to be a State, or to have any reſemblance to a Temporal Sovereignty.

The Condition of the primitive Church was ſuch, as not to permit a Sovereignty within it ſelf.

§. 31. But; beſides what has been ſaid already, a great many Reaſons may be alledged, which ſufficiently prove, that it was not in the power of the Apoſtles, to plant a Church, reſembling in Power, to a Temporal Sovereignty, if they had entertained any Thoughts of attempting a Deſign both unneceſſary and illegal. The common Security is the main End of every Government, whereby Men are enabled to defend themſelves by their united ſtrength againſt all Injuries; which cannot be performed without a conſiderable number of ſtout and well appointed Men. But the Name of the Church, is often given to the Congregations of an indifferent Town, nay even of private Families; And does not our Saviour himſelf ſay? *Where two or three are gathered in my Name, there am I in the midſt of them.* Which moved *Tertullian* to ſay: *Three make up a Church, as well as a Colledge.* And where Chriſt is in the midſt of a Congregation, certainly there can-

Mat. 18. 20.

not

not be wanting ſufficient Means to obtain Salvation, *viz.* the Word, the Miniſter, and the Sacraments; ſo, that the end and ſcope of the Chriſtian Religion may be attained to, even in an indifferent numerous Congregation of the Believers. Neither does the greater number of the Believers joyned in one Church (like a vaſt number of People is neceſſary for the erecting of a State) in it ſelf conſidered, add any thing, or is neceſſary for the obtaining the end of the Chriſtian Religion, it being indifferent, in regard of obtaining Salvation; whether a Man worſhip God in a great or ſmall Congregation. From whence this inference may be made, That, in caſe, the greateſt part of the Church ſhould ſeparate it ſelf from the others, the reſt, notwithſtanding all this, may purſue and obtain the End of the Chriſtian Faith; Quite otherwiſe as it is with Temporal Commonweaths, where, if the greateſt part of its Inhabitants happen to be rooted out, the reſt will be thereby diſinabled to maintain the State. Theſe Qualifications belonging to Subjects; eſpecially to ſuch of them as are to be preferred before others in a State, either for their Uſefulneſs, or the honour of the Commonwealth, are not eſteemed the ſame in the Church, ſo, that he, who does not excel in Riches, Strength or Wiſdom, ſhall therefore not be deemed a good Chriſtian. Furthermore; thoſe that pretend to lay the Foundation of a new State, muſt have Territories belonging to them, where their new Subjects may ſettle themſelves and their Fortunes. And, all ſuch as live, or are ſeated in a Commonwealth, if they pretend to ſet up a new State, muſt either

1 Cor. 20. 21, 22.

tranſplant

tranſplant themſelves into another Country, or elſe overturn that Government, under which they then live. So, when *Moſes* delivered the *Iſraelites* from the *Ægyptian* Bondage, he led them into the Deſarts of *Arabia*. And, when *Romulus* had reſolved to erect a new Commonwealth, he firſt withdrew himſelf from the Subjection of the Kings of *Alba*; and ſuch of the Neighbouring Countries, as were for being Members of that new Commonwealth, did leave their former Habitations, and ſettled themſelves in *Rome*. But neither Chriſt, nor his Apoſtles, did ever remove Chriſtians from their Habitations to other Places, but allowed every body to remain in the ſame Station, and under the ſame Government, without the leaſt prejudice to the former Rights of their Sovereigns over them. From whence it is evident, that the Chriſtians, tho' never ſo numerous, could not be in a condition to ſettle themſelves under any one State of their own, For, ſince, according to the Rules of the Chriſtian Religion, the Rights of Sovereigns over their Subjects Lives and Goods, are not taken away or impair'd, and no body can be ſubject to two Maſters, there could be no pretence of erecting a new Sovereignty; eſpecially in the midſt of another Commonwealth, nay, it was beyond their Power, even to enter into ſuch a Society, as ſhould be in the leaſt prejudicial to the Rights of their preſent Sovereigns. Who can be ſo ignorant in civil Affairs, as not to underſtand, what prodigious Sums of Money are required for the maintaining of a State. And, tho' the Rights of

Rom. 13. 1. 1 Pet. 2. 13.

So-

Sovereigns do not extend ſo far as to take away from Subjects the private diſpoſal of their Goods; nevertheleſs may they lawfully reſtrain the Extravagancy of their Subjects, if they pretend to diſpoſe of their Goods in prejudice of the State. For; if this Liberty ſhould be granted to the Subjects without limitation, the State, if deprived of its nouriſhment would quickly be reduced to a languiſhing condition, or elſe, private Men might be enabled to erect a new State in the midſt of the old one, or at leaſt, to impair, and endanger the Publick Safety. And, ſince thoſe Sovereigns, under whoſe Juriſdiction the Apoſtles lived, had the ſame Right over the Fortunes of their Subjects, as other Governments have; and the Rights of Sovereigns were not taken away, by the Doctrine of Chriſt, there could be no other proviſion made for the maintainance of thoſe Congregations, (as ſuch) but what was conſiſtent with the lawful Rights of their Sovereigns, and as much only as might lawfully be given by private Perſons; which could not exceed a private Fortune, and were nothing more than Voluntary Contributions or Alms; And, whatſoever of any real Eſtate was attributed to theſe Uſes, was thereby not exempted from paying of Taxes, no more than the Eſtates of other Subjects.

The inward Structure of the Church is quite different from that of a State.

§. 32. But if we take a full view of the whole Structure of Civil Societies, and by what means Subjects were united under one Government; we ſhall find them to differ as Heaven and Earth from that Union, which belongs properly to the Body of a Church. If we

we trace that Original of Civil Societies or Commonwealths, it is evident, that Men having found the Inconveniencies and Dangers which attended a ſolitary Life in the free natural State, did enter and unite themſelves into Societies for their common Security: And having agreed to a certain Form of Government, did conſtitute one certain Perſon, or a Counſel, who were to be the ſupream Governours of that Society; unto whom they ſubmitted themſelves and their fortunes, for the common Benefit of that Society. But Churches were erected upon quite another Foundation. For here, Men, being made ſenſible of their miſerable condition, did not by their own accord and a general agreement, turn themſelves to God Almighty, but, being on the contrary overwhelmed with Darkneſs and Ignorance, ſo, as to be over ſecure, and neglecting their own Salvation, God did ſend his Meſſengers among them, *commanding all men every where to repent.* Here is not the leaſt footſtep of any general Agreement of Men to erect and ſubmit themſelves under one Church; but each particular Perſon for himſelf, without any reſpect or regard to others did follow Chriſt and his Doctrine. And, whereas in a Civil State, the whole family has its dependency from their Maſter, and enjoys all the Privileges belonging to them under his Protection; it is quite different in the Church, where the Wife is not obliged to follow her Husband's Religion, nor the Servant the Maſter. So, were in the family of *Narciſſus* (who himſelf was not a Chriſtian

Acts 17, 30.

1 Cor. 7. 12. 21.

ſeveral

ſeveral Chriſtian Servants, who are ſalutec
Rom. 16. 11. ſuch by S. *Paul*. And in this ſenſe is to taken what is ſaid by Chriſt, He that lo Father or Mother, Son or Daughter m
Mat. 10. 37 c. 12. 50. Luk. 14. 26. than me, is not worthy of me: As likev what is mentioned concerning Diviſi Diſcords, Diſſenſions, which are to be rai by the Doctrine of Chriſt among the nea Friends, is to be underſtood of the ſtrict nion betwixt Chriſt and the Believers, wh ſurpaſſes, and is to be preferred before all
Mat. 10. 34. Tyes of Conſanguinity among Men. that, if a Father, Husband or Maſter ſho turn Apoſtate, the Son, Wife or Servant not obliged to follow their footſteps. N ther is it requiſite to be ſolicitous ab any particular or certain Form of Gove ment in the Church, *viz.* whether ſame ought to be Monarchical, Aril cratical or Democratical. For, theſe ſe veral Forms belonging only to a Civil (vernment are very prepoſterouſly made of in the behalf of the Church, which is different from a Temporal State. And Churches and Commonwealths are erec for different Ends: ſo the Offices belongi to both are altogether of a different Natu Who is ſo ignorant as not to know, that the obtaining the Ends of Civil Societies, was requiſite to conſtitute various Degrees Dignities appertaining to the Managers of State; whereas the moſt plain and natu Diſtinction betwixt Chriſtians in reference the Church, is only that of Teachers a Auditors.

§. 33. E

§. 33. Beſides all this, the Teachers in a Church, do not only differ from Temporal Governours in a State, in that theſe are conſtituted for different Ends: But the main Difference is the very nature of their Conſtitution. We will not inſiſt here upon the Point of Succeſſion, by which a great many Sovereigns obtain their Sovereign Power, which is quite otherwiſe in the Church: But we will only treat in this place concerning the different Conſtitution betwixt Teachers, and ſuch Sovereigns, as exerciſe the Supream Civil Power, by Vertue of Election. When therefore the Sovereign Power is lodged in any Perſons by Election, the reſt who have thus choſen them their Supream Governour, do thereby ſubmit themſelves to the Diſpoſal of thoſe their Sovereigns, in ſuch a manner as to oblige themſelves, that whatſoever they think conducing for the publick Welfare, ſhall be taken as ſuch by the whole Body; and that they will always be ready to execute their Commands: Wherefore Sovereigns are always inveſted with a full Power to force their Subjects to a compliance with their Commands, by inflicting Puniſhments upon them. But how is it poſſible to imagine that any Church or Congregation of the Believers ſhould ever, or ought to ſubmit themſelves ſo entirely to the Pleaſure and Diſpoſal of their Teachers; as to oblige themſelves to acquieſce barely in, and to follow blindly, whatever ſhall be propoſed by them, as conducing and leading to the way of Salvation; it being certain without contradiction, that none

9 *There is a great difference betwixt Teachers in a Church, and the Governours of a State.*

none of the Believers do entirely ſubmit themſelves and their Faith to any Body but to God Almighty, whoſe Will and Commands ought to be interpreted by the Teachers of the Church, and their Auditors to be exhorted to a due Compliance with them. For, whoever it be, that propoſes any Doctrine ſurpaſſing human Reaſon, if he pretends to gain credit by his Auditors, muſt either claim it by Virtue of his own Authority, or by Compulſion, or by Virtue of a more Superiour Power. But any Man that offers Matters not agreeable to Reaſon, does thereby expoſe himſelf, and ſo looſes his Authority, except he can by other more powerful means maintain his Doctrine, and gain credit with his Auditors. It was for this Reaſon, that, to the Greeks, who were Men that ſought after Wiſdom and Reaſon, the Preaching of the Apoſtles was Fooliſhneſs. And *S. Paul* was for the ſame Reaſon nick-named a *Babler* by the *Athenian* Philoſophers. Neither is any human Power capable of enforcing the Myſteries of Faith and the Chriſtian Doctrine upon People; for which reaſon Chriſt told his Apoſtles, Go and Teach, and Believe, and that with all your hearts; to obtain which, all human means which imply any Temporal Advantages, or are forcible in their own nature, are to be taken for Trifles and inſufficient. There is then no other Way left, but that ſuch Doctrines muſt be verified by a Superiour Being or Principle, *viz.* the Grace of God, which always accompanies the Goſpel, and thoſe Miracles where-

1 Cor. 1. 23.

Acts 17. 18

Mark 16. 20.

with

with the Apoſtles antiently authorized their Doctrine; Tho' it is at the ſame time undeniable, that ſince the Goſpel is ſufficiently ſpread abroad in the World, we do not now any more ſtand in need of ſuch Miracles: In the ſame manner as the Thunder and Lightning which were heard at the Publiſhing of the Ten Commandments, were never repeated afterwards among the *Jews*. The Chriſtians therefore have ſubmitted their Faith and Reaſon only to Chriſt, whoſe Authority is unqueſtionable, as being God himſelf, and was teſtified by his Father's Voice from Heaven, when he ſaid, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed.* And, as the People of *Iſrael* willingly ſubmitted their Faith to *Moſes*, as ſoon as he had given them plain Demonſtrations of his Divine Commiſſion; ſo were they obliged to ſubimt their Faith to the Apoſtles, after they had once verified their Divine Commiſſion by their Miracles: Tho' it cannot be denied, but that their Doctrine did ſometimes produce good Effects without Miracles. It is therefore very obſervable, that when they preached and taught their Doctrine to ſuch as were well verſed in the Old Teſtament, they did not take it amiſs, if their Auditors examined their Words, whether they were conſonant with the Propheſies contained therein. From whence it is ſufficently apparent, that no body ought to engage himſelf unto a blind Obedience of ſuch Teachers, as cannot verifie their immediate Divine Commiſſion by Miracles, ſo as to make his Faith abſolutely dependant from their Doctrine

Acts 14.3. Heb. 2.4.

Mat. 3.17. Luk. 3.22.

Exod. 20. 19.

Acts 17.10.

without Exception, but only ſo far, as their Doctrine is found agreeable to the Doctrine of thoſe who had given manifeſt demonſtrations of their divine Authority. And for this Reaſon it is, that it is not ſufficient for a Teacher in the Church to ſay, ſo it is, and ſo it ſhall and muſt be: But he lies under an indiſpenſible Obligation of making it plain and apparent, that, what he offers to his Auditors, is abſolutely conſonant to the Doctrine publiſhed by Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Neither ought the Auditors pin their Faith upon the Authority of their Teachers, but to refer themſelves to the Authority of God and his Word, which is the Touchſtone by which the Teachers Doctrine is to be examined and approved. The Schools of Philoſophers uſed to take their Names from their Chief Teachers or Founders, as we may obſerve in the Schools of *Plato*, *Ariſtoteles* and *Zeno*: But the Church ought to have no other Name, but that ſhe is the Church of God or Chriſt. It was upon that ſcore when S. *Paul* rebuked the *Corinthians*, becauſe ſome of them ſaid, they were of
1 Cor. 1 12 *Paul*, ſome of *Apollo*, ſome of *Cephas*, and ſome of *Chriſt*. So that ſince the holy Scripture is now eſtabliſhed among us, Chriſtians ought not to be like the Diſciples of *Pythagoras*, who uſed for their Motto, that old Saying αὐτὸς ἔφα, *He himſelf has ſpoken it:* But they have ſufficient Authority to look themſelves into the Holy Scripture, and to examine whether the Doctrine of their Teachers be agreeable to the Doctrine of our Saviour. For, Chriſt, when he ſaid, *ſearch the Scriptures*, did not only ſpeak to his Diſciples,

ciples, but to his Auditors in general. And Joh. 5. 39.
. *Paul* bid us *to prove all things, and to hold* 1 Thes. 5.
aſt that which is good. *S. John* ſays, *that* 21.
e ſhall try the Spirits, whether they are of 1 Joh. 4. 1.
od. Neither can I conceive how the Exa-
ination of our ſelves, which *S. Paul* ſo
ighly recommends to all that intend to be 1 Cor. 11.
artakers of the Lords Supper, can be duely 28.
erformed without meditating the Scriptures.
or, in this caſe, I take the condition of a
eacher and of a Phyſician, to be quite diffe-
nt; it being only required in the latter to
nderſtand the Art of Phyſick, and to apply
e ſame to his Patients, which may be
one with good Succeſs, tho' they be
ver ſo ignorant. But it is not ſufficient
r a Teacher of a Church to be alone verſed
the Articles of the Chriſtian Religion;
at Church being to be deemed moſt excel-
nt, where the Auditors are not inferiour to
eir Teachers in the Cognition of the Myſte-
es of the Faith. For the Apoſtles did not
un to declare unto Mankind all the Coun- Act. 20. 27.
l of God, having not committed the
hriſtian Doctrine to the care and cuſtody
one particular Perſon, who was to be the
ly Interpreter of it, as the Sibyllin Ora-
es were antiently at *Rome* in the Cuſtody of
e *Decemviri.* And becauſe Chriſtians do not
ild their Faith upon any Human Authority,
t upon the Word of God alone, they are Joh. 6. 45.
id to be taught of God. For which Reaſon 1 Theſ. 4. 9
Paul utterly denied that they had any Do-
inion over the Faith of the *Corinthians*; or,
hich is the ſame in effect, that they could

exercise any Dominion over them under
2 Cor. 1. 24. Pretence of Faith. For the rest, as Chri
ans which are well versed in the Scriptu
may, without great difficulty, try th
Teacher's Doctrine by the Touchstone of
Holy Scripture: So the Catechism and ot
compendious Instructions relating to
chiefest Articles of the Christian Faith r
be sufficient for those of a meaner Capaci
wherein all Christians ought to be well
structed in their younger Years, both by th
Parents and Teachers of the Church, t
being likely to prove more useful to th
of an indifferent Capacity than all the otl
Subtilities and Controversies, which in the
selves are not absolutely necessary, or
quisite to be understood by every Christian
particular. And if we duely consider what
Rom. 10. 9, 10. required by the Apostle for the obtaining
1 Tim. 1. 15. Salvation, we shall find that this Knowled
2 Tim. 2. 23. may be attained to without much Difficulty
because the Confession that *Jesus was Chri*
the Son of God, is the Foundation Ston
and, as it was, the Center of the Christia
Religion, and that this Article was chief
opposed by the Gates of Hell in the time o
the Primitive Christians, the Apostle S. Jo
prescribes this as a general Rule to be parti
cularly taken notice of by such as are of
mean Capacity: *Hereby know you* (said he
the Spirit of God: Every Spirit that confe
that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh,
of God: and every Spirit that confesseth
that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh, is
of God. Though from hence no Inferen
ough

ht to be made, as if Chriſtians may neglect, ought not alſo to be well inſtructed con- ning all the other Articles of Faith, or : it is indifferent for any Chriſtian to be- e, what he pleaſes, concerning the reſt of Articles of the Chriſtian Doctrine.

Whether the whole Chriſtian Church ought to be conſidered as a State.

). 34. It being then evident, that there great difference betwixt the condition of ticular Churches, and that of a State or nmonwealth: It may further be enquired), whether perhaps thoſe Churches united 't make up a Body like to that of a great :e? For it is certain, that the Word ırch is in the Scriptures attributed to the ɔle Body of the Believers whereſoever diſ- ſed throughout the World; yet ſo, that :e is not the leaſt appearance (if a due regard ıad to our Saviour's Intention) of a Deſign reſt a State. *Go you into all the World, and ach the Goſpel to every Creature*, are the ɔrds of our Saviour to his Diſciples. Here no mention made of any Perſons, who ıld be the ſupream Governours over the (as is uſual, and abſolutely neceſſary in tate) nor any certain Place of Reſidence ointed for theſe Governours, from ence the reſt ſhould receive their Orders. ther is the leaſt care taken by what means y ſhould maintain a Correſpondency with ir capital City: And truly, conſidering vaſt Extent of the World, and the pro- ious Diſtance of thoſe Countries, where Apoſtles Preach-d the Goſpel: (beſides, : there was a mortal Enmity betwixt e of theſe States) theſe were unſurmounta-

Mark. 16. 15

ble Obſtacles for the ſettling and maintaining a Correſpondency betwixt them. So that it does not appear, by what means all the Chriſtians could be united under one State. It is not denied but that there is often mention made in the Scripture, of the Union of the Chriſtians; as in the 1 *Cor.* c. 12. 12, 13. *As the body is one, and had many members, and all the members of that one body being many, are one body: So alſo is Chriſt. For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free, and have been all made to drink into one Spirit.* Chriſt ſays in the 10. Chap. of *S. John*, ver. 16, *My Sheep hear my voice, and there ſhall be one fold and one ſhepherd.* Which ſhews, that all the Sheep are brought into one Flock by hearing the Voice of their Paſtour, who is Chriſt. So it is ſaid in the Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, ch. 4. ver. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. *Forbearing one another in love, endeavouring the Unity of the Spirit in the bond af peace. There is one body and one Spirit, even as you are called in one hope of your calling: One Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm, one God and Father of all.* And Chriſt, in his farewel Sermon, does chiefly recommend to his Diſciples Charity and Unity, as the true Badges of Chriſtianity: And the Name of Brother which particularly belongs to the Chriſtians, ſeems to imply a general union betwixt them. But if we conſider the Nature of theſe holy Tyes, we may eaſily obſerve them to have been in no ways adapted to the Conſtitution of a temporal Government; but properly belonging to the

Joh. 13.

Vid. 1 Cor. 13.

Coloſ. 3 14.

Gal. 6. 10.

the Eſtabliſhment and Union of a myſtical Body. For, as none of them requires or implies any dependency from a Temporal Power, ſo they may belong in common to all Chriſtians, tho' living in far diſtant Countries, and ſeveral Juriſdictions.

There is no neceſſity for Chriſtians to be united under one State.

§. 35. Neither does it appear, for what end or purpoſe all the Chriſtians in General ſhould be reduced under one State. For, each Congregation or Church may with more eaſe and conveniency conſtitute Teachers in their Churches, fitly qualified for the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, and have a more watchful Eye over thoſe who are known, and near at hand, than can be expected from one ſingle Perſon, (tho' never ſo wiſe) living at a great diſtance; who being beſides this, overwhelmed with multitude of Buſineſſes, is forced to ſee with other Peoples Eyes, and to hear with other Peoples Ears. Neither is it a ſufficient Reaſon, what is alledged, that for the compoſing and determining of ſuch Differences as may ariſe betwixt the Teachers of the Church, or betwixt them and others, a General Court ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Chriſtian Church, it being evident, that ſuch Caſes can be no where determined with more conveniency, than in the ſame Government where they live; and that there cannot any ſufficient reaſon be given, why they ſhould not acknowledge the ſame Juriſdiction with the reſt of their fellow Subjects. There is one objection which has ſomething of colour in it; for it is alledged, That if all the Chriſtian Churches throughout the World were united under one Head, (whether

under one Perſon, or a certain Aſſembly, matters not) the unity of Faith might be better preſerved, Controverſies ſooner compoſed, and Hereſies ſuppreſſed or quite extinguiſhed; but if the whole matter be duely weighed, it will appear, that ſuch an Eccleſiaſtical Monarch may be very eaſily ſpared in the Church. For, granting ſuch an univerſal Judge of all Controverſies ariſing in the Church, he muſt be ſuppoſed to be infallible, (and that beyond all contradiction) as well in point of Matter of Fact, as to the lawfulneſs of the Caſe; for it may ſo happen, that it be plain enough, whether a Doctrine be erroneous or not, when at the ſame time, it may be diſputable, whether the ſaid Error ought to be laid to a certain Man's Charge or not? For, if an Appeal be allowed from this Judge, after Sentence pronounced, there will never be an end of the Proceſs. It is therefore abſolutely requiſite, that this infallible Authority ſhould be ſo manifeſtly proved, that it cannot reaſonably be called in queſtion. For, unleſs this Authority be unqueſtionable for the deciſion of this Controverſie, we muſt run from this Judge to another, who muſt alſo be ſuppoſed to be Infallible, and ſo in infinite; it being granted by all, without Exception, that no body ought to be a Judge in hisown Caſe. And, ſince this Privilege of being Infallible, could not be granted by any body, but by God alone; (the whole Body of Chriſtians, being not inveſted with ſuch a Power) it muſt plainly be proved out of the Scriptures, that this particular Prerogative and Authority was granted to one certain Perſon, for him and his Succeſſors to decide

Whether it be neceſſary to ſet up a general Judge of all Controverſies in the Church?

decide all Controverſies concerning the Articles of Faith, without being liable to any Error. But, of this there is not the leaſt foot-ſtep in the holy Scripture; Nay, the Apoſtles, when they were ſent by Chriſt into all the World, were endued with the ſame Spirit, and had an equal Authority. So, that there is but one way now left, for the attaining to the true Knowledge of the Chriſtian Religion, both for the Teachers in the Church, and all Believers in general, which is, to ſtudy the Scriptures devoutly, and without Intermiſſion. And whoever pretends to Inſpiration, or to a prophetical Spirit, ought by undeniable Demonſtrations to juſtifie his Pretenſions. 2 Tim. 3. 14. 15.

Theſe Qualifications, which the Apoſtle *Paul* deſcribes in the 2 Epiſtle to *Timothy*, *c.* 2. 24, 25, ought to be applied to all Biſhops and Teachers in general: *And the Servant of the Lord*, he ſays, *muſt not ſtrive, but be gentle unto all Men, apt to teach patiently. In meekneſs inſtructing thoſe that oppoſe themſelves, if God peradventure will give them Repentance to the acknowledging of the Truth.* Out of what has been ſaid, it is apparent, that, if any one now a-days, does pretend to any Prerogative, or Infallibility in deciding Controverſies as to matter of Faith, he ought to be endued with ſuch extraordinary Qualifications, as are moſt requiſite for the due Explaining and Interpreting the Senſe of the holy Scripture, and this in ſo high a degree, as that the other Teachers in the Church are not able to ſtand in Competition with him, nay, that even all their joint Endeavours, in this kind, are not to be compared

pared to his Judgment. Beſides this, it n
be ſuppoſed, that this univerſal Judge (
cept he be to be look'd upon as an uſeleſs
gine) muſt be inveſted with a Power to
cute his Decrees, and to oblige all Chriſt
to acquieſce in his Judgment; For, if it be
poſed, that his Decrees have no other fo
than as far as they influence People by the f
of Truth, they would be either uſeleſs
elſe this Judge in vain pretends thereby to
further Prerogative, but what he has in
mon with other Chriſtians that apply th
ſelves to the Study of the holy Scripture.
thermore, this obliging Power muſt e
have been obtained by a peculiar Privil
granted by God Almighty, or by a general
ſent of the Chriſtians, or by an inherent R
to a Sovereignty over all the Chriſtian Chur
As for a priviledge granted by God, o
general conſent of the Chriſtian Chur
there is not the leaſt Proof of it, as far as
I could find; And as to the pretended S
reign Power, its legal Title ought to be p
ed by ſuch Documents as are ſuitable to ſo
a Pretenſion. For it is a very inſignifi
Proof, to alledge in a caſe of ſuch Mo
Tradition, and a long continued Uſurpa
which adds nothing to the right of a long
tinued illegal Poſſeſſion, and cannot be t
for a ſolid Foundation, whereupon to bu
real Pretenſion to ſuch a Sovereignty; for
poſſible, that, whereas ſomething of a
rogative was intended in the primitive ti
the ſame, in proceſs of Time, has been abu
and conſequently degenerated into an inſu

able Tyranny. We cannot therefore, but look upon such a Tradition, as has not the least foundation in the Scriptures, as very suspicious; especially, when we consider, that such a Sovereign Power is quite contrary to the true Genius of the Christian Religion. It may perhaps be objected, that nothing else can be so powerful to put a stop to all Controversies; but it ought to be considered also, that thereby the worst sort of Slavery must be introduced, worse than that whereof *Tacitus* complains in his time: *Adempto, per Inquisitiones, & loquendi audiendiq; Commercio, utque ipsa cum voce memoria perdatur, si tam in nostra potestate foret oblivisci, quam tacere. By the Inquisition the benefit of our Tongue and Ears is taken away at once; and if it was as easie to controul Mens Memories, as it is to bridle their Tongues, the very remembrance of things past, had been long ago abolished among us.* Truly, by such Methods, perhaps the Commonwealth may be stock'd with Hypocrites, and dissembling Hereticks, but few will be brought over to the Orthodox Christian Faith. As it is therefore absolutely requisite, that a hidden Ulcer should be laid open, whereby it may the sooner be purg'd from its Malignancy, and proper Remedies more immediately be applied to the affected Part; So, is it much conducing in the Church, that such Scruples and Erroneous Opinions as have seised our Minds should be brought to light, that by applying timely Remedies, they may be removed before they are gone too far; than by couching them over to let them run into a malignant Suppuration, which at last may turn

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to an incurable Gangren. It is alſo to be taken notice of, that if this Eccleſiaſtical Sovereignty be granted, there muſt of neceſſity be a double headed Sovereign Power in one State; it being evident, that Subjects would be obliged to acknowledge the Authority of this Eccleſiaſtical Judge in point of Controverſie, as well, and in the ſame meaſure, as they do the Authority of their civil Governours in civil Actions. And, ſince this Eccleſiaſtical Sovereignty has a different ſcope from that, for which Civil Societies were erected, it muſt conſequently be of a quite different nature, and make up a particular Sovereignty. Wherefore, if both theſe ſhould happen to be joined in one Perſon, he becomes thereby at once maſter over our Lives and Conſciences: But, if this Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction be lodged in another Perſon, he muſt either at the ſame time be acknowledged to have a Power of executing his Decrees, by his own Prerogative, or elſe to have only an Authority of giving Sentence, leaving the Execution of it to the civil Magiſtrates. If the firſt of theſe two be ſuppoſed, it is evident, that a double headed Sovereignty muſt carry along with it great Inconveniencies and Diſtractions; and if the latter, thoſe that exerciſe the Sovereignty in the State, muſt be look'd upon as Executioners only to this holy Judge. All theſe Things duely conſidered, as they muſt needs occaſion great Convulſions in the State, ſo no man that is not beyond his Wits will be apt to imagine, (unleſs it be made appear by moſt evident Proofs) that Chriſt intended to introduce, by his

his Doctrine, ſuch pernicious Diſeaſes into civil Societies. For, tho' it is impoſſible, that no Controverſies ſhould be raiſed in the Church, like Chriſt himſelf has foretold it in the Parable by *Matthew*, *c.* 13. 24. And St. *Paul* in the 1 Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, *c.* 11. 19. Nevertheleſs, if any Controverſie does ariſe, he that is the firſt Author of it muſt of neceſſity maintain his Opinion, under a colour at leaſt of its being agreeable to the Scriptures. For, if any one ſhould pretend to introduce a new Article of Faith, without endeavouring to prove it out of the holy Scripture, he would be look'd upon as a mad Man, tho' he ſhould call to his aid all the Sophiſtications of the Philoſophers. And if he ſhould inſiſt upon the Authority of Traditions without the Scriptures, this would only ſerve to diſcloſe the weakneſs of that Foundation whereupon he builds his Doctrine. But, if any one ſhould make an attempt againſt any Article of Faith, received already as ſuch, in the Church, he is ſcarce worth taking notice of, unleſs he ſhould be able to alledge at leaſt, ſome ſpecious Reaſons out of the holy Scripture for his Opinion. And, in ſuch a caſe (eſpecially if his Endeavours ſeem to proceed from a real Love to Truth) he ought not to be abſolutely ſlighted, without being heard, and his Reaſons examined. So, that then the whole deciſion of the Matter muſt depend from a right Interpretation of the ſeveral paſſages in the holy Scripture relating to this Controverſie; And to find out this Interpretation, I ſee not any neceſſity, which obliges us to have recourſe to a Sovereign Power, or

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any infallible Authority, but only to ſuch Means, as are moſt proper for the ſearching into, and finding out the genuine Senſe of other Authors; viz. by a true Knowledge of the Tongue, and a diligent ſearch into the nature and whole frame of the Chriſtian Religion, and by duely comparing the Articles of Faith, and obſerving their Annology and Connexion; Whoſoever beſides this, has a natural good Judgment, and is not prepoſſeſſed with Prejudice, private Intereſt, or Paſſion, it will be no ſuch difficult Task for him, to find out the genuine Senſe of the Scriptures, and to demonſtrate it ſo plainly, that ſuch as oppoſe him, will, by the conſent of all Underſtanding People, be judged to be in the wrong. So did our Saviour at ſeveral times convince the Phariſees and Saduceans out of the whole Scripture, and by the force of his Arguments taken from thence, that they were not able to make any further reply. And why ſhould it not be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that in each Chriſtian Church, there may be found a ſufficient number of Teachers, capable of diſproving ſuch as pretend to introduce among them Innovations, and falſe Doctrines. But, ſuppoſing that theſe alone ſhould prove inſufficient, they may call to their aid thoſe of the Neighbouring moſt famous Churches. From whence it appears, that there is no abſolute Neceſſity of acknowledging a Judge General of Controverſies in the Church. And, put the Caſe, that thoſe that diſſent from the Church, are ſo numerous, as to have ſpread their Doctrine all over the State, this Judge will prove

prove uſeleſs in his Office; For, if he pretends to have recourſe to violent means to make them renounce their falſe Opinion, they will in all probability oppoſe force to force; But, if he takes the other way, and endeavours to convince them of their Error by Arguments taken out of the holy Scripture; this may be done as well by other Teachers fitly qualified for their Office, than by ſuch a Judge General in the Church. Neither ought we to be ſo over timerous as to believe, that Errors ſhould in ſo much prevail over Truth, as to domineer always and every where over it, it being not to be queſtion'd, but that by help of the moſt clear-ſighted Teachers in the Church, theſe Clouds may be ſoon diſperſed, and Truth again appear in its ſplendor. I appeal to Experience, whether not a great many Hereſies by the only help of prevailing Truth, without the aſſiſtance of ſuch a Judge, or any human Force have by degrees dwindled away, and at laſt quite diſappeared. It muſt be confeſt, there are ſome erroneous Opinions, which being nouriſhed and maintained by a Temporal Intereſt, and certain Reaſons of State of ſome particular Churches, are not ſo eaſie to be ſuppreſſed. Of this kind are thoſe Controverſies, wherein the Proteſtants differ with the Papiſts; All which, if duely conſidered, are ſo deeply entangled with the Intereſt of the Popiſh Monarchy, that it is impoſſible for the *Roman Catholicks* to recede an Inch from the point of the controverted Articles, without diminution of their Authority, and endangering their great Revenues; ſo, that all hopes of an Union

nion betwixt them and the *Proteſtants*, are in vain, unleſs the latter can reſolve to ſubmit themſelves under the ſame Popiſh Yoak which they have ſhaken off ſo long ago. I cannot ſufficiently admire that groſs way of Arguing, made uſe of by the Papiſtes, when they talk of nothing elſe but the Authority of their Church, telling us, that, if we would but once acknowledge the ſame, all the Differences and Queſtions concerning the chief Articles of Faith would fall a-courſe, making themſelves both Party and Judge, and pretending to give Sentence in their own Caſe according to their own Teſtimony. They always make uſe of this Sophiſm, that they attribute only to themſelves the glorious Name of the *True Church*, excluding all orher Chriſtians from it, but ſuch as are of the ſame Communion with them. And, to back this pretence, nothing is more common among them, than to lay aſide all manner of demonſtrative Arguments founded in the Scriptures, and in lieu thereof, to find out new Methods (unknown to the Apoſtles) of Converting People; and to endeavour to eſtabliſh their Authority by all manner of violence againſt thoſe, that dare to maintain Truth in oppoſition to their Doctrine. For which reaſon God has threatned in a moſt peculia manner to deſtroy this Monſter of a State.

An Example of Controverſie compoſed in the times of the Apoſtles.

§. 37. The true Method of compoſing Controverſies ariſen in the Church, is taught us by what is ſet us as an Example of this kind in the *Acts*, c. 15. where it deſerves our moſt particular Obſervation, that the Controverſy then in queſtion was concerning a main Point

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the Christian Religion, *viz.* Whether a
an might be saved without being circumcised
cording to the Institution of *Moses*. For S.
ul, in the Epistle to the *Galatians*, c. 5. 2.
d positively declared: *If you be circumcised,*
rist shall profit you nothing. And it is very
markable, that this Question was started in
e very Infancy of the Church, when the
non of the Church was not perfected, and
ere were not wanting living Testimonies of
ch as had received the Doctrine of Christ from
s own mouth, and were endued with the
oly Ghost, and instructed with an Apostoli-
l Authority. Neither is it to be doubted,
t that *Paul* and *Barnabas* were endued with a
fficient Share of Wisdom and Understanding
the Holy Scripture, for the reducing of this
rour; as plainy appears out of the 5. verse Act. 15.
the above alledged Chapter, that they op-
sed such forcible Reasons against this erro-
ous Opinion, that those that were come
ther out of *Judea*, were not able to contra-
ct them: So they appealed to the Authority
the Church of *Jerusalem*, which being the V. 24.
ring from whence the Christian Religion
s derived into other Parts of the World,
y hoped to be back'd in this Opinion, by
h of the Members of that Church, as did
t without some Reluctancy brook the A-
lishing of the *Jewish* Synagogue; and that they
re not quite beyond their guess, but met
th a great many there that were addicted
the same Opinion, appears out of the 5th
rse in the same 15th Chapter. To prevent
erefore any further Disturbance, which

might be raiſed in the *Antiochian* Church by reaſon of this Controverſie, *Paul* and *Barnabas*, with ſome others, were deputed to go to the Chuch of *Jeruſalem*, to decide this Controverſie. When they came thither a Convocation was called, conſiſting not only of the Apoſtles and Presbyters, but alſo of the other Members of that Church, not excepting thoſe of the contrary ſide: After their Reaſons had been heard, the Caſe was in debate a conſiderable time; and at laſt the whole matter having been ſufficiently diſputed on both ſides, then *Peter* roſe up, not as an univerſal Judge, or who pretended to decide the Controverſie by Virtue of his Authority, but his Proceeding was by demonſtrative Arguments, telling them, what prodigious Effects had been wrought among the Gentiles by his
Act. 11. 9 preaching the Goſpel to them, after the Viſion which appeared to him at *Joppe*; Where he thus argues: That ſince the Holy Ghoſt had in the ſame meaſure purified the Hearts of thoſe Believers that were uncircumciſed, it would be unreaſonable to put this Yoak upon the Neck of the Chriſtians, the more, becauſe they were not to be ſaved by Circumciſion, but through the Grace of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. *Paul* and *Barnabas*, being of the ſame Opinion, did declare at the ſame time what Miracles and Wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them, which would not have been done, if they were to be taken for unſanctified, as being not circumciſed, or if Circumciſion was an eſſential Part of the Chriſtian Faith. After all had held their Peace,

Peace, that is to ſay, no body further appearing who could contradict them or oppoſe their Arguments; *James* at laſt aroſe, declaring that the Vision of *Peter* did agree to the Words of the Prophets, and that therefore it was his Opinion that ſuch among the Centiles as did turn to Chriſt ought not to be troubled. But that they alſo in ſome meaſure might gratifie themſelves, and to induce them not to fly the Converſation of ſuch of the Gentiles as received the Chriſtian Faith, it was thought fit that theſe ſhould abſtain from Pollution of Idols, from Fornication, from things ſtrangled, and from Blood, all which was forbidden by the *Moſaic* Law, and partly diſagreeable to the Law of Nature; as Fornication, which nevertheleſs was a common Vice among the Gentiles; the reſt being things indifferent in themſelves, might eaſily be let alone, rather than give Offence to a Brother. This having been approved of by common Conſent, and as it appears, even by thoſe that were of a contrary Sentiment before, a Synodical Epiſtle was writ to the Church at *Antioch*, in the name not only of thoſe Apoſtles and Elders, but alſo of the Brethren of the Church of *Jeruſalem*. *Judas* and *Silas* were deputed to carry this Epiſtle, who being arrived at *Antioch*, did not publiſh it in the nature of a Law, but, having delivered it to the Brethren, (from whom it met with a general Approbation) they exhorted them with many words to a due Obſervance of it.

Some Obſervations concerning the nature and uſe of Councils.

§. 38. If the whole matter be duly weighed, it furniſhes us with ſeveral Obſervations, which may not a little contribute towards the Explaining the Nature of Eccleſiaſtical Councils. In the firſt place, it is moſt apparent, that theſe Councils are not ſuch Bodies whoſe Authority is everlaſting for the Government of the Church: But that they are extraordinary Convocations or Conventions, compoſed out of ſome ſelected and moſt eminent Men of the Church, who are called together for the compoſing certain Controverſies ariſen in the Church. And, becauſe thoſe Councils were very frequent in the Church from its Primitive times, this alone may ſerve as a convincing Argument, that the Church never acknowledged one infallible Judge for the deciding of Controverſies. For, to what purpoſe were ſo many Heads ſet to work, if one ſingle Perſon was ſufficient and infallible in the Deciſion of them? And (what is yet more) if the Decrees of the Councils had only their obliging Force from his Confirmation. Furthermore, thoſe that compoſe ſuch a Council are not to be conſidered as Members of an Aſſembly or Colledge, who by the Majority of Votes can ſo abſolutely determine the Queſtion in hand, as to be obligatory to all Chriſtians in general; Truth generally ſpeaking, not depending from the Plurality of Suffrages; much leſs, can they pretend to a legiſlative Power veſted in them ſo as to impoſe what Laws or Canons they pleaſe upon the Church. But, they may be conſidered no otherwiſe than Men deputed by the

Churches for the examining the true ounds of the Controverſies laid before m, and for ſearching for the Deciſion of m in the Holy Scripture; So that theſe urches are not obliged to acquieſce in this ciſion any further than they find it agree- e to the Word of God. For it may chance fall out ſo that a Controverſie which ap- irs at firſt ſight very intricate and difficult, erwards being well weighed and the Rea- is thereof duly examined on both ſides, is y plain and eaſy to be determined. But if y moral Decrees are made by a Council, e ſame are to be taken to have no obliging wer, but what proceeds either from a eceding Commiſſion and Authority, or om the Approbation of theſe Churches; ſo at Chuncils have no coercive Power over e Church. I cannot but touch, by the by, on this Head, *viz.* that this Aſſertion; *e Council is above the Pope*, is of ſuch a Na- re as will eaſily gain credit with all that are ided by right Reaſon, or the Scriptures. or, who can be ſo ſtupid as not to be ſenſi- e, that a great many learned Men, who ith joint labour apply themſelves to the arch after Truth, are to be preferred be- re the Judgment of one ſingle Perſon, and at oftentimes of ſuch a one, who has but very indifferent inſight into the Holy Scrip- ures and Divinity. This ſeems to imply mewhat of a Contradiction, that this Point s aſſerted by the ſelf-ſame People, who make he Papal Chair the Center of the Church, nd the Pope the Oecumenick Biſhop: For,

the *Romiſh* Church pretends to be a Monarchical State; but this Aſſertion of the Superiority of the Councils, ſavours moſt of an Ariſtocracy. But this Riddle may be unfolded in a few Words: The *French* Clergy allows the Pope to be the Supream Head of the Church, as far as they find it ſuitable with their Intereſt. But whenever he attempts any thing againſt them, or the States Policy of that Kingdom, the old Song of the Liberty of the *Gallican* Church, and the antient Doctrine of the *Sorbone* is revived, which ſerves the *French* Clergy now and then for a Pretext, to perſuade the vulgar ſort of People, that the *Gallican* Church has not been polluted with thoſe groſs and abominable Errours as are introduced in the Church of *Rome*. The next thing to be conſidered is, that it is moſt evident, that if a Controverſie ariſes, which may be decided within the Body of one Church, there is no Occaſion for the Communicating in ſuch a Point with other Churches; And, that, in caſe one Church alone is not ſtock'd ſufficiently with able Teachers for the compoſing of the Difference, and therefore muſt call to its Aid thoſe of other Churches, it is ſuperfluous to call together a greater number than may be ſufficient for the accompliſhment of the Work. So did the Church of *Antioch* refer the whole Controverſie to thoſe of *Jeruſalem*, without giving the leaſt Trouble to thoſe of *Phenice* and *Samaria*, though their Deputies paſſed in their Way thither through both theſe Places. Beſides this, the Deputies that are ſent, ought to receive their Authority and Inſtruction from

from their ſeveral Churches, whom they repreſent, becauſe no Church has without reſerve ſubmitted herſelf to the Determination of her Teachers, but only as far as their Doctrine is agreeable to the Word of God. Neither are the Words in the Epiſtle to the *Hebr.* c. 13. 17. to be underſtood any otherwiſe than with this Limitation. Beſides this, it is abſolutely requiſite that ſuch Perſons as have raiſed a Controverſie ſhould be heard in the Council, that their Reaſons ſhould be duely examined, weighed, and proceeded upon, according to the Rules preſcribed in the Holy Writ. And if the Controverſie does not barely concern a Point of Doctrine, but implies a Temporal Intereſt, thoſe that have any Share in it cannot pretend to a Power of deciding the Point in Prejudice of the adverſe Party. From whence it is evident, that the Points in queſtion betwixt the Proteſtant Church and the Papal Chair cannot be compoſed by any Council, their Difference ariſing not barely from Point of Doctrine, but about Domination, Temporal Dignities, and vaſt Revenues. Nor is there the leaſt Probability of any Compoſition betwixt theſe two Parties by way of Arbitration; For who is it that can pretend to decide ſo great a Point? Who is likely to be accepted of as an Arbitrator by both Parties? The Proteſtants, in all likelihood, will not be ſo fooliſh as to ſubmit themſelves and their Caſe to the Determination of any Aſſembly conſiſting all of *Roman* Catholicks their ſworn Enemies; nor can they have the Imprudence as to ask it. And as for

the Pope, he likes his Station too well, to put it to the Hazard of an Arbitration. But if an Aſſembly ſhould be propoſed to conſiſt of an equal Number choſen by each Party, this Expedient would ſcarce take, it being to be feared that they would ſcarce keep within the bounds of Moderation, and that the Aſſembly would appear ſometimes not unlike the Feaſt of the Centaures.

In what condition the Churches were under the Pagan Emperours.

§. 39. It having been hitherto demonſtrated at large, that the Church is no State, we muſt conſider in the next place, unto what kind of moral Bodies the Churches have the neareſt relation, as they were in primitive Times under the Pagan Princes. It is evident enough, That they were of the nature of Colledges, or ſuch Societies, where a great many are joined for the carrying on a certain Buſineſs, under this limitation nevertheleſs, as not to be independent from the Civil Juriſdiction. Concerning the nature of the Colledges and Corporations, *Jacobus Cujachus* may be conſulted before all others, 7 *Obſerv.* 30, and 16; and *Obſerv.* 3, and 5. And it is here very well worth our moſt particular Obſervation, that ſuch Societies as were erected for the exerciſe of Religion were by Publick Authority allowed of in the antient *Roman* Empire. This is atteſted among a great many others, by *Athanagoras*, in the beginning of his Apology for the Chriſtians, when he ſays: *It is by your Command, you greateſt of Princes, that ſeveral Nations live according to their own Cuſtoms and Laws, and every one, without being controuled by any Penal Statutes, freely exerciſe the ſame Religion*

given in which he was educated. And then he proceeds immediately after: *All Men do offer their Sacrifices, and keep their Ceremonies, according to the Customs of their Native Country.* This Liberty of Conſcience was among others, the true cauſe, why the Chriſtian Religion in ſo ſhort a time did ſpread it ſelf over ſo vaſt an Empire, and why in the beginning, very few oppoſed its Progreſs, the Magiſtrats not thinking it belonging to their Province to intermeddle with it. And this is one Reaſon, why we never read of the Apoſtles having aſked leave from the Civil Magiſtrates to preach the Goſpel, or to plant a Church. Tho' another Reaſon may be given, why the Apoſtles were not obliged to ask leave from the Civil Magiſtrates for the Conſtituting of Chriſtian Churches; becauſe the Apoſtles had received their immediate Authority of Preaching the Goſpel from him, who is the *King of Kings*, and by whoſe Command all Mankind were then called to repentance. From what has been ſaid, this rational Concluſion may be drawn; That the Apoſtles had not only a Power to plant Churches in all places, where they found their Auditors inclined to receive the Doctrine of the Goſpel, but that alſo in all other places, whither this Doctrine was tranſplanted, the Believers might enter into ſuch a Society, or plant a Church upon their own accord, without any Commiſſion or Permiſſion for ſo doing, from the Apoſtles; but, that, purſuant to our Saviour's Expreſſion, it was ſufficient, if two or three were inclined to meet in his Name. If we trace the true nature of thoſe Societies,

which

which are conſtituted by a free Choice and Conſent of certain Men. we may eaſily find to contain, all of them, ſomething reſembling a Democracy, where ſuch Matters as concern the whole Body of the Society are to be diſpatched by common Conſent, and where no particular Perſon can claim any further Power over the reſt, than what he has received by their joint Conſent. From whence it may be rationally concluded, that at the firſt beginning, the Power of Conſtituting Teachers, and other Miniſters of the Church, was originally lodged in the whole Church, or, the whole Congregation of the Believers. And, tho' it is unqueſtionable, that in the firſt primitive Church, Teachers were conſtituted by the Apoſtles in a great many places; nevertheleſs the *Greek* word Χειροτονειν, (which implies ſomething of a Democracy, and is often uſed in the Scriptures in this Caſe) argues ſufficiently, that this was not done without the Approbation of the Church. It would be a hard Task to prove, that the Apoſtles did conſtitute Teachers themſelves in all leſſer Towns, or that they preached the Goſpel in all leſſer Places and Villages. It ſeems rather probable, that the Goſpel was publiſhed by the Apoſtles in great Cities, and other places of note; from whence it was communicated unto other Places; and, that ſuch Churches, as were not provided with Teachers, Biſhops, or Presbyters by the Apoſtles themſelves, or their ſpecial Authority, uſed either to chuſe thoſe very Perſons to that Function, who were the firſt Preachers of the Goſpel among them,

or

or any others, whom they eſteemed to be endowed, before others, with the Gift of Teaching. If we conſult the Epiſtle of St. *Paul* to the *Romans*, it ſeems that the Goſpel had been taught at *Rome*, before ever *Peter* and *Paul* came thither; And the High Treaſurer of the Queen *Candaces*, who is generally believed to have firſt carried the Doctrine of the Goſpel to *Æthiopia*, and to have been the firſt Founder of the Chriſtian Churches in thoſe Parts, received no Ordination as a Biſhop or Presbyter from *Philip*, after his Baptiſm. Neither did Chriſt or his Apoſtles preſcribe any certain Form, to be uſed in the Ordination of Biſhops, as he did in the uſe of the Sacraments; which ſeems to prove that for the obtaining of this Function, there is nothing more required, than for the Perſon to be called by the Church, and to have the Gift of Teaching. It is not to be denied, but that the Ordination of Miniſters, and Impoſition of Hands by the Biſhops and Presbyters is a very laudable and uſeful Ceremony, and ought to be received as ſuch, with this reſtriction nevertheleſs, that the ſame need not to be deemed ſo abſolutely neceſſary, as if without it no Perſon ought to be taken for a true Miniſter of the Church; eſpecially ſince theſe miraculous Gifts which accompanied that Ceremony in the Infancy of the Primitive Church are many Ages paſt, become uſeleſs. The Church, like all other Colledges, have power to collect Stipends for their Miniſters, and to make Collections for the Uſe of the Poor; but in a different degree from that which belongs to Civil Magiſtrates or Sove-

Chap. 16.

Acts 8.

1 Tim. 4. 14.

reigns,

reigns, who levy Taxes. and have a Power to force their Subjects to a compliance with their Commands; But, in the Church this Power is founded upon the meer Liberality and free Conſent of all the Believers in general, who being made ſenſible of their Duty of paying a Workman his Stipend, and relieving thoſe in Diſtreſs, ought not to refuſe ſuch Acts of Juſtice and Humanity. It properly belongs to all Colledges as well as Churches, to have a Power to make, with joint Conſent of their Members, ſuch Statutes, as may conduce towards the obtaining the Ends of their Society, provided they do not interfere with the legal Rights of their Sovereigns. Of this kind are theſe Statutes, which St. *Paul* recommends to the *Corinthians* in his firſt Epiſtle, in the 7 *Chapt.* If any one acted contrary to theſe Rules, he deſervedly was to receive Correction, or to undergo ſuch a Penalty as was dictated by the Statute, and which was to be laid upon him not by Vertue of an Inherent Power in the Colledge, but purſuant to their Contract. And, tho' Colledges have not any Power or Juriſdiction over their Members, unleſs what is abſolutely requiſite for the obtaining the true end of each Society, or elſe has been granted to them by their Sovereigns; Nevertheleſs, it is often practiſed in theſe Societies, and may be done without prejudice to the Rights of their Sovereigns, that, if any Differences ariſe betwixt the Members of one and the ſame Colledge, theſe are compoſed by the Interpoſition and Arbitration of the reſt of the Members of that Colledge or Society, to the End, that a

1 Cor. 8. 2, 3. c. 2. 12, 13. c. 9. 5, 9, 7.

mutual

mutual good Correſpondency may be cultivated among them. In which ſenſe is to be taken the Admonition which St. *Paul* gives to the *Corinthians* concerning this point in the 1 Epiſtle, in the *6 Chapter*, in the firſt and following *Verſes*. Laſtly, becauſe many Vices were at the time of the firſt publiſhing of the Goſpel in vogue among the Heathens, which were not puniſhable by the Pagan Laws, they being more encouraged to the obſervance of Moral Duty by the proſpect of Honours than by any civil Commands; And, the Chriſtians believing it more peculiarly belonging to themſelves to recommend and adorn their Profeſſion by a holy Life, and, by an innocent Converſation, to excel the Heathens, ſome Statutes were, at the very beginning, introduced into the Primitive Church, which were thought moſt convenient to correct all manner of Licentiouſneſs, according to St. *Paul*'s Direction: *If any one that is called a Brother be a Fornicator, or Covetous, or an Idolater, or a Railer, or a Drunkard, or an Extortioner, with ſuch a one do not eat.* 1 Cor. 5. 11. From whence it appears, that in the primitive Times, Church Cenſure was uſed in the Churches, all which may eaſily be ſuppoſed to have been done without the leaſt prejudice to the Sovereign Power, it being always for the Intereſt of the State, that Subjects ſhould lead an innocent Life. It is worth our Obſervation, that the Puniſhments inflicted by vertue of theſe Statutes, were of ſuch a nature, as might be put in execution without the leaſt prejudice to the Civil Government; ſuch were private Admonitions, publick Reprimands, and Church Penan-

Penances, the extream Remedy was Exc
munication, by vertue of which, a Membe
the Church was either for a time depri
from enjoying the benefit of the Publick W
ſhip, or entirely excluded from being a M
ber of the Church. This being the utm
unto which any Colledge can pretend, *viz.*
tirely to exclude a Member of their Soci
This Excluſion, tho' in it ſelf conſide
of the greateſt moment, (ſince thereby a C
ſtian was deprived of the whole Commu
with the Church) Nevertheles did not
the Civil State or Condition of a Subject;
thoſe that were thus excommunicated ſuff
no loſs in their Dignities, Honour, Right
Fortunes. For, that the Church Cen
ſhould extend to the real Prejudice of the
Condition of any Subject, is not any way
quiſite for the obtaining the Ends for w
the Church is Eſtabliſhed; Neither can
ſuppoſed, that without defrauding Sovere
of their Right, ſuch a Power can be exer
over Subjects, unleſs with their own Con
and by vertue of a publick Civil Authorit

Concerning the condition of the Church under Chriſtian Princes.

§. 40. The next thing which deſerves Conſideration is, whether the Church is, how far it received any Alteration f its former Condition, after Princes, w Kingdoms, and States did profeſs the C ſtian Religion? Where it is to be obſ ed, That the Churches did thereby not rec any eſſential Perfection; it being evident, the Chriſtian Religion could be exer ſubſiſt without the State; and Comm did not depend from the Chriſtian Re

: ſcope of the Chriſtian Religion, and of
il Governments, being quite different in
r own nature. For, *our* πολίτευμα, *our Con-* Phil. 3.
ation is in Heaven; and, *if in this Life only* 20.
have hope in Chriſt, we are of all Men moſt 2 Cor. 5.
rable. For this Reaſon it was, that the A- 8.
tles were never forward to appear before 1 Cor. 14
nces, tho' they might have obtained an ea- 19.
Acceſs by their miraculous Deeds. So *He-*
was exceeding glad when he ſaw *Jeſus*, be-
ſe he hoped to have ſeen ſome Miracle done Luke 23.
him. But they were very cautious in this 8.
nt, leſt it might appear to ſome, as if the
ſpel wanted to be maintained by Human
ength, or that perhaps thoſe Princes might
tend to a greater Authority over them, than
s conſiſtent with the ſafety of the Chriſtian
ligion. Notwithſtanding all this, the Chri-
in Religion does not in any wiſe impair or
lipſe the legal Rights of Sovereigns, but
her confirms and eſtabliſhes the civil Power,
s apparent out of ſeveral paſſages in the ho- Mat. 22.
Scripture. If it ſhould be granted that the 21.
urch was a State independent from any tem- Joh. 18. 2.
ral Juriſdiction, the conſequence would be Rom. 13.
s, That the civil Power could not but re- 1 Cor. 15.
ve a moſt remarkable Limitation and Dimi- 24.
tion, and the condition of a Subject muſt
:eive a great alteration; whereas on the other
nd, the condition of Chriſtians, or of Tea-
:rs in the Church (conſidered as ſuch) is
ither aboliſhed nor altered, becauſe either
: Prince, or the Subjects in general do re-
ve the Chriſtian Faith, there being not the
ſt footſtep to be met withal in the Scri-
ptures,

ptures, implying any ſuch alteration: Beſides this, there is not any expreſs Command in the New Teſtament, directed to Sovereigns, which entitles them to any particular Prerogative in the Church, like to that which the Kings of *Iſrael* had received in the 17 *Chap.* of *Deuteronomy*: From whence ariſes this concluſion, that, what right Sovereigns can claim in the Church, and Church Affairs, muſt be deduced, either out of the natural conſtitution of the civil Power, or out of the true Genius of the Chriſtian Religion, or elſe muſt owe its off-ſpring to the free conſent of the Church.

Churches do not alter their nature of being a Colledge.

§. 41. Out of what has been laid down, it appears firſt of all, that, if a Prince or whole Commonwealth, do receive the Doctrine of Chriſt, the Church does thereby not receive any other Alteration, as to her natural Conſtitution, but that, whereas ſhe was formerly to be conſidered only as a private Society or Colledge, yet ſuch a one as being ſubordinate to the Law, and therefore to be cheriſhed by the Higher Powers, who had no legal Right to diſturb, proſecute or deſtroy it; She now being put under the particular Protection of her Sovereigns, enjoys a greater ſhare of Security, and is beyond the reach of the Perſecutions of the Infidels. Notwithſtanding this, the Church is thereby not exalted from a Colledge to a State, ſince, by the receiving of the Chriſtian Religion, the civil Government does not undergo any Alteration or Diminution; On the contrary, Sovereigns looſe nothing of their legal Rights, neither are Subjects in any wiſe

: abſolved from their Duties and Obliga-
ıs. For it implies a contradiction, that a
ble Sovereignty, and two different ſorts of
igations in the Subject ſhould be lodged in
and the ſame Commonwealth. It is a fri-
ıus Objection, that the Church and civil
ernment have different Ends and Objects,
repugnant to one another; For, from
ıce is not to be inferred, that the Church
t be a State, or that the Chriſtian Religion
ıot be propagated, maintained or exerciſed,
ıout the Church aſſume the ſame Power
belongs to the civil Government. In
e places therefore, where the whole Peo-
ınd the Prince profeſs the Chriſtian Reli-
ı, the Commonwealth receives the Church
its Protection, and, tho' ſtrictly united,
e is no colliſion or emulation betwixt them,
does either of them receive any prejudice in
r reſpective Rights, but without the leaſt
rference with one another, the Church re-
ıs a Colledge, whereof the Prince, and
he Subjects are now become Members. So,
each Subject, beſides the Perſon he repre-
ed in the State, has aſſumed that of a
iſtian, and in this reſpect is eſteemed a
ıber of the Church. Neither is every one
e conſidered in the Church according to
Station or Dignity he bears in the Com-
wealth, but, theſe Qualifications are, as
re, laid aſide there, and he is only regard-
s a Chriſtian. So, that the General of an
y cannot claim any Prerogative to himſelf
ıeChurch beyond the privateCentinel. And
paſt all doubt, that one and the ſame Man

may repreſent ſeveral Perſons, accord
the ſeveral Functions and Obligations
ing to him.

Princes are thereby not made Biſhops.

§. 42. It is alſo, according to my C
beyond queſtion, that Kings, Princes
ther civil Magiſtrates, by receiving t
ſtian Doctrine, are not conſtituted Bi
Teachers in the Church, this Function
perly belonging to every Chriſtian, b
to ſuch as have a lawful Vocation, and
ly qualified for it. Beſides this, the
Office and that of Teachers are of ſu
ture, that they cannot conveniently be
niſtred by one and the ſame Perſon,
cauſe of any natural repugnancy betwi
but that each of them is involved in ſuch
titude of Trouble and variety of
that it cannot rationally be ſuppoſed
Man to be able to undergo ſuch a Fatig
is no leſs evident, that Sovereigns, by
ing Chriſtians, are not authoriſed to a
Miniſtry of the Church, or to order it
ſure, or to force the Miniſters of the
to teach any Doctrine which is not fou
the Scriptures, or to preach up Humar
tions for Articles of Faith. For, wh
how Miniſters ought to Teach, is preſc
God himſelf, who expects an exact Ob
in this Point, as well from Kings
Chriſtians. And it is to be conſidere
whenever Princes receive the Chriſti
ctrine, the Teachers, notwithſtandi
remain in their former Station as to th
ty and Obligation to God, as well, a
reſt of their Chriſtian-Subjects, who

eceived their Inſtructions, as to their Religi-
n, only from God, without the aſſiſtance of
heir Sovereigns, theſe cannot claim any right
o impoſe any thing of this kind upon them.

§. 43. Notwithſtanding all this, it is not
o be ſuppoſed that Sovereigns, by becoming
hriſtians, have acquir'd no peculiar Rights,
r have not a more particular Duty laid upon
hem than before; There being certain Obli-
ations, which owe their off-ſpring to the
nion of that Duty, which is incumbent to
very Chriſtian, with that of the Royal Office.
The firſt and chiefeſt of theſe Obligations
eems to be, that Sovereigns ought to be De-
enders of the Church, which they are oblig'd
o protect not only againſt all ſuch of their Sub-
ects, as dare to attempt any thing againſt it,
ut alſo againſt Foreigners, who pretend to be
injurious to their Subjects upon that ſcore
nd, tho' the Chriſtian Doctrine is not to be
ropagated by violence or force of Arms, and
ur Saviour has highly recommended Patience
nd Sufferings as peculiar Vertues belonging
o Chriſtians, Princes are nevertheleſs not de-
arr'd from their Right of Protecting the Chri-
ian Religion by all lawful means, and Pa-
ence ought not to take place here, except
hen no other lawful means can ſecure us a-
ainſt our Enemies. So we ſee that St. *Paul* A. 25
ved himſelf from being ſcourged by declaring
mſelf to be a *Roman*, and eſcaped the Fury
the *Jews* by making his Appeal to the Em-
rour. And our Saviour himſelf left this Matt. 10.
dvice to his Diſciples, That *when they were* 23.
rſecuted in one City, they ſhould fly into another.

Concerning the Duty and Right of Chriſtian Princes of defending the Church.

And, it being an incumbent Duty belonging to all Sovereigns, to defend their Subjects against all violence; they ought to take more effectual care that they do not suffer any Injuries for the Christian Religions sake; for, what could be more reproachful to a Christian Prince, than that his Subjects should be sufferers upon that account? The next care which belongs to Christian Princes, is, to provide necessary Revenues for the exercise of the Christian Religion. For as has been shewn before, that no other Patrimony belonged to the Primitive Church, but the Alms and free Contributions of the Believers, and that these cannot but be supposed to be very uncertain, the Ministers and Teachers in the Church run no small hazard of being exposed to want, if they have nothing else to rely upon, but the bare contributions of the Congregation, who being in some places poor, and Subject to other Taxes, are incapable of supplying their want. And not to dissemble the Truth, after Princes and entire States have received the Doctrine of Christ, it would appear very ill, that, whereas they enjoy such ample Revenues, they would deal so sparingly with the Church, the more, because it is a general Maxim among Men, to value a Function according to its Revenues. What St. *Paul* recommends to the *Romans* in the 15th *Chapter*, *v.* 27. and in the 1 Epist. to the *Corinthians* 9. 11. ought to be the more taken notice of by Christian Princes, because they can with less difficulty, or any sensible injury to themselves, put it in practise in their Station, they having the management of the Publick

ick Revenues in their hands. It cannot be nied, but that too vaſt Revenues are not alays uſeful to Miniſters of the Church, and ove ſometimes prejudicial both to Church id State; and that ſuch as make profeſſion the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, ought not to ake a Trade of their Function, or to think it eir main Buſineſs to gather Riches, and take e Miniſtry for their By-work; nevertheleſs, it be duely conſidered, that he who cordial- (as he ought to do) applies himſelf to the iniſterial Function, has no other ways left m to provide for his Family; and that the lgar Sort ſcarce pay a due Reſpect to a Miſter, unleſs they ſee him live handſomely and ell; whereas he, who is ſtarv'd by his Funion is the May-Game of the common Peoe, unto whom may be applied that old Say- g of the Poet; *That this Man appears to be e Servant of a poor and wretched Lord. Appae ſervum hunc eſſe Domini pauperis miſerique.* rinces ought therefore to look upon this as ae main part of their Devotion, to ſettle rtain and conſtant Sallaries or Revenues upon e Miniſters of the Church, as much as may , at leaſt ſufficient for their Maintainance. t the Old Teſtament the Prieſts were to live om the Altar, but thoſe of the beſt kind were rought to the Altar. Beſides this, Princes ought ot only to take care of Church-Buildings, at alſo to erect and maintain Schools, which ing the Seminaries both of the Church and tate, if the firſt Rudiments of Chriſtianity e not implanted in the Schools, it cannot arce be expected, that Men, when grown up,

Vid. Ep. Gal. 6. 6. 2 Tim. 2. 4.

ſhould receive much benefit by publick Sermons.

Concerning the rights of Princes, as to Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. And firſt, of the general Inſpection.

§. 44. But among other Conſiderations, as to what Rights properly belong to Princes as to Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, it is evident, that, ſince by the Doctrine of the Goſpel the Civil Power is in no wiſe impaired, and a Prince cheriſhes a Church under his Juriſdiction, he legally claims a Right of having a general Inſpection over this as well as all other Societies; at leaſt, ſo far as to take care that nothing be tranſacted in theſe Colledges to his Prejudice. For Mankind being ſo perverſe in its Nature, that in Matters, even the moſt Sacred, if managed without controul, they ſeldom let it ſlip through their hands without a Stain; And that therefore it is ſcarce to be queſtioned, but the Chriſtian Doctrine is ſubject to the ſame Corruption, and that under Pretence of Religion many pernicious Deſigns may be hatched againſt the Intereſt of the Commonwealth. A Prince in whoſe Territories a Church is planted, if he afterwards enters into the Communion of that Church, has queſtionleſs a Right to examin what Matters, and in what Manner they are tranſacted in the Convention of their Presbyters, or in their Eccleſiaſtical Courts, if there be any ſuch among them; Whether they do not tranſgreſs their Bounds? whether they act according to the Civil Laws, or whether they do not aſſume to themſelves a Power to determine ſuch Caſes as properly belong to the Civil Juriſdiction? Of this Kind are Matrimonial Caſes, which without Reaſon, and upon very ſlender Pretences, the Prieſts have drawn un-

nder their Juriſdiction, to the great Preju-
ice of the Sovereign Power; For, it being
n unqueſtionable Right belonging to Sove-
eigns to conſtitute Laws concerning Matri-
onial Caſes, according to the Law of Na-
ure and of God, I cannot ſee any Reaſon why
hey have not a Right to determine Matri-
onial Differences. And becauſe the Mini-
ters of the Church make uſe of Church-di-
cipline, the Prince may make a legal Enquiry
whether, under Pretence of theſe Rules pre-
cribed by our Saviour, they do not intro-
luce Novelties, which may prove prejudicial
o the State? And as theſe Enchroachments
re no eſſential Part of the Chriſtian Doctrine,
ut rather to be looked upon like Spots which
iſguiſe its natural Beauty; So, I cannot ſee
ith what Face it can be denied, that thoſe
ught to be taken off, eſpecially by the Au-
hority of thoſe whoſe Intereſt is moſt nearly
oncerned; unleſs they have Impudence e-
ough to own, that the Chriſtian Religion
ay lawfully be miſapplied to By-uſes. And
et it be granted, that every thing is tranſa-
ted as it ought to be in theſe Conventions
f the Presbyters, Conſiſtories or Epiſcopal
ourts, why ſhould they be aſham'd or ang-
y at their Sovereigns taking Cogniſance of
heir Proceedings. And this Right of In-
pection does never ceaſe after the Sovereign
as once entred into the Communion of the
hurch, it being his Duty to take care
hat no Abuſes may creep into the Church,
n proceſs of Time, that may endanger the
tate.

Concerning the Right of Ministers of the Church.

§ 45. And as the Right of Confirming Ministers of the Church does originally belong to the whole Congregation, the Prince must needs have his Share in it, as being a Member of the Congregation; I say his Share: For it is not reasonable that a Minister should be forced upon any Church against their Consent, and without their Approbation, except it be for very weighty Reasons. For, the Right of Confirming Ministers in the Church does not belong to the Prince in the same manner, as with his Prerogative to confirm Civil Magistrates and other Publick Ministers of State, which being a part of the sovereign Power, cannot be called in question. But Teachers in the Church, consider'd merely as such, are none of the King's Ministers, but Servants of Christ, and Ministers of the Church, not Officers of the State. And because, in the Primitive Church, Ministers used to be confirmed by Regular Vote, or by the Suffrages of the Christians, the Prince may lawfully claim his Vote in the same Church wherein he is a Member; But as for the other Churches under his Jurisdiction, they ought to be left to their free Choice, except there be some prevailing Reasons, which oblige the Prince to interpose his Authority; it being unjust, that a Minister should be put upon a Church against their Will, if they can alledge any lawful Exception against him. For, a Teacher thus forced upon his Auditors, for whom they have neither esteem nor Love, is likely to edifie but little by his Doctrine. Nevertheless, Sovereigns ought to have a watch-

watchful Eye over the Churches, and to take care that Perſons not fitly qualified for this ſacred Function, may not be promoted to the Miniſtry either by Simony or other unlawful Means: For though it is the Intereſt of the whole Church to provide againſt theſe Corruptions, Sovereigns are likely to do it with much better Succeſs than can be expected from private Perſons. They may authoriſe certain Perſons to be preſent at theſe Elections, and who, by their Authority, may prevent all manner of Diſorder or Corruption, and at the ſame time make a due enquiry, whether ſuch Perſons as are to be put into the Miniſtry are of an approved Life and Doctrine. And, becauſe the Miniſters of the Church do ſometimes act negligently or prepoſterouſly in their Office, which often proves the Occaſion of Scandal and Schiſm in the Church, Sovereigns may conſtitute over them Inſpectors, with an Authority to reprove, and ſometimes to puniſh ſuch as tranſgreſs their Rules. But theſe Inſpectors, being no leſs ſubject to human Frailties than other men, Care ought to be taken that their Authority be ſo limited as to be accountable of all their Proceedings, either to the Prince, or before a Conſiſtory authoriſed for that purpoſe, if they tranſgreſs their Bounds or treſpaſs upon the Miniſters of the Church. As all theſe maters do contribute to the maintaining of good Order in the Church, and may beſt be put in execution by the Sovereign Authority; So it is manifeſt, that Princes, as they are chief Members of the Church, may juſtly

1 Tim. 3. 13.

Rom. 16. 17.

claim

claim this Prerogative as properly belonging to their high Station and Princely Office.

Concerning the Right of calling together a Synod.

§. 46. In caſe of any Difference or Controverſie concerning any Point of Doctrine which may ſometimes ariſe in the Church, ſo, that the Teachers are divided in their Opinions, it belongs to the Sovereign Authority to take care that theſe Differences may be compoſed, not only as the Sovereign is a Member of the Church, but as he is the Supream Head of the Commonwealth; It having been frequently obſerved, that Differences of Opinions and Animoſities of the Parties concerned, cauſe great Commotions in the State. Upon ſuch Occaſions Sovereigns have a Right to call together an Aſſembly of the moſt able Divines, and to authoriſe them to examine the Controverſie, and to determine it according to the Tenure of the Scriptures; The Supream Direction of this Aſſembly ought to be managed by the Prince's Authority; For, ſince it can ſcarce be ſuppoſed that matters ſhould be tranſacted there without Heats and Animoſities, it will be both for the Honour and Intereſt of this Aſſembly, if by the Preſence of certain Perſons well verſed in Buſineſs, theſe Heats be allayed, and matters carried on with an equal Temperament. Neither do I ſee how any one beſides the Prince can lay claim to this Power of calling ſuch an Aſſembly; for, put the caſe, that one Party ſhould refuſe to appear, and to ſubmit unto the other's Direction, which way will they be able to compel them to it? And who is it, that can with leſs

Difficulty

Difficulty put in execution the Decrees of ſuch a Synod, than he, who has the Sovereign Power in his Hands? Tho' at the ſame time it ought not to be forgotten, that this Power muſt not extend it ſelf beyond its due Bounds, but be ſuitable to the Genius of the Chriſtian Religion. But, in caſe Divines out of other Countries are to be called unto this Convocation or Aſſembly, it is, I think, a plain caſe, that theſe caunot appear there without leave firſt obtained from their Sovereigns. And if a Council ſhould be called, conſiſting of ſelected Divines out of a great many Commonwealths, this cannot be done without a foregoing Agreement made betwixt thoſe Sovereigns that are concerned therein. For it is not allowable for Subjects of another State to come to us upon ſuch an Account, nor can ours go to them upon ſuch an Errand, unleſs by joint Conſent of the higher Powers. And ſince Sovereigns cannot claim any Juriſdiction over one another, there will be no place left for any Prerogative, but Matters muſt be tranſacted according to mutual Contract.

Their Right concerning Church-Diſcipline.

§. 47. For what Reaſons the Primitive Chriſtians did introduce Church Diſcipline, *viz.* to be diſtinguiſhed from the Heathens by their holy Life and Converſation, and to ſupply the Defects of the civil Pagan Laws, which did not reſtrain them from ſuch Vices as were abominable to the Chriſtians, has been ſufficiently explained before. This Reaſon takes no more place now, after whole Commonwealths as well as their Sovereigns are entred

entred into the Communion of the Chriſtian Church; for there is not the ſame Occaſion now to be diſtinguiſhed from the Heathens by an unſpotted Converſation, after the rooting out of the Pagan Religion, all Chriſtians being under an equal Obligation to endeavour an unblemiſhed Life. But, notwithſtanding the general Converſion of whole Commonwealths to the Chriſtian Faith, care ought to be taken, that Holineſs of Life be not laid aſide among Chriſtians; from whence ariſes this Queſtion: Whether it be better to make uſe of the antient Church Diſcipline now, in the ſame manner as it was practiſed in the Primitive times? Or, whether it be not more expedient to admit of ſome Alterations, after Sovereigns are entred into the Communion of the Church? The laſt of theſe two ſeems to be moſt probable; becauſe this antient Church Diſcipline which was introduced for a certain time, to ſupply the deficiency of the Pagan Laws, and to amend their vicious Lives and Converſation, and was thus left to the direction of certain People, is not an Eſſential part of Chriſtianity; and, beſides this, carries this Inconveniency along with it, that it may eaſily degenerate into a kind of a pretended Soveraignty, and prove prejudicial to the Civil Power. And, as Soveraigns have a Right to provide againſt every thing that may be the probable cauſe of Convulſions in the State; ſo may this defect be ſupplied by the Civil Laws, and Vices may be ſuppreſſed by Civil Puniſhments. Neither do I ſee any reaſon to the contrary, why

Vices

Vices ſhould not be as eaſily corrected by Puniſhments preſcribed by the Civil Laws, as by Church-Cenſures; or, why the firſt ſhould not prove as effectual as the latter for the ſuppreſſing of Publick Scandals? It will perhaps be objected, That Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline has a much greater Influence over Chriſtians towards the amendment of their Lives, than Civil Puniſhments; becauſe the firſt penetrates into the Heart; whereas Civil Puniſhments do not touch us but ſuperficially: Unto this it may be anſwered, That Church-Diſcipline does not always anſwer this end, it being not to be doubted, but that ſome Men, tho' they undergo all the Church-Penances, retain in their hearts the ſame vicious Inclinations, or ſometimes grow more ſtubborn and bold. But if it be taken as an Expiation for our Sins in regard of God Almighty, it is to be obſerved, that if we pretend to an Expiation for any Treſpaſſes, which fall under the cognizance of Humane Laws, we muſt therein be directed by the Word of God, which does not preſcribe Church-Penance as a proper Satisfaction in this caſe. For our ſins are not remitted, becauſe we have undergone Church-Penance, but becauſe our Hearts are purified by the Blood of Chriſt, provided we, by the Faith, apply his Sufferings unto us. But, ſuppoſing it ſhould be thought moſt convenient, that ſome ſort of Vices ought to be corrected by Church-Diſcipline, the beſt Expedient would be, to leave it firſt to the determination of the Civil Judges, who, according to the Circumſtances of the Caſe, ought to ſend the Delinquents

to

to the Eccleſiaſtical Court, there to undergo the Church-Cenſure. For, Chriſtian Soveraigns have an unqueſtionable Right to determine, what ſort of Miſdemeanors are puniſhable by the Civil Laws, and which of them come under the Cognizance of Eccleſiaſtical Courts; and conſequently, to decree, what ſort of Church-Cenſure ought to be laid upon the Delinquents, according to the different Nature of the Treſpaſs; which may be put in Execution by the Miniſters accordingly. Concerning Excommunication, the ſame ought not to be put in Practice, but with this caution, that it ought not to be left to the diſcretion of Prieſts, ſo as to be inflicted by them at pleaſure; but this Power ought to be limited by certain Rules preſcribed by thoſe that have the Legiſlative Power in a State. For, in a Chriſtian Commonwealth Excommunication alters the Civil Condition of a Subject, and renders him infamous and deteſtable among his fellow-Chriſtians: And as it affects the Civil State of Subjects, Soveraigns, unleſs they will let others encroach upon their Prerogative, ought to determine concerning its Legality.

Concerning the Power of making Eccleſiaſtical Canons or Statutes.

§. 48. Since the Chriſtian Religion does not in any wiſe diminiſh the Rights of Soveraigns, theſe, if entred into the Communion of the Church, have a Power to examine, what Canons or Eccleſiaſtical Statutes are received in the Church; and if ſome of them are found ſuperfluous, or interfering with the Soveraign Power, to aboliſh the ſame; and if there appears any deficiency, to ſupply what is wanting

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ing

ing towards the maintaining a good Order, and the Glory of the Church (which however, ought not to be done without the Advice, at leaſt, of the chief Men of the Church) and laſtly, give to thoſe Statutes the force of Civil Laws. This Power nevertheleſs, of making Eccleſiaſtical Statutes, muſt be exerciſed with a great deal of caution, the ſame being limited to the outward form of the Church-Government, and to maintain its Order and Decency, Chriſtians being not to be over-heap'd with a vaſt number of Canons. For, thoſe that ſtretch the Power of Soveraigns to ſuch a pitch, as to make them the abſolute Judges of the Chriſtian Religion, and to attribute to them a Right of eſtabliſhing certain Articles of Faith by Civil Laws, or to annex to them a force equal to the Civil Conſtitutions, and to force upon their Subjects a certain Religion, under ſevere Penalties, or oblige them either to profeſs or to deny certain Points of Doctrine, which are controverted amongſt Chriſtians; Theſe, I ſay, act quite contrary to the true Genius of the Chriſtian Religion, and to the Method made uſe of by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, for the propagating of this Doctrine; They deſtroy the very Eſſential part of our Faith, which being a Gift of the Holy Ghoſt, and a Belief founded in our Hearts, is tranſmuted into an outward Confeſſion, where the Tongue, to avoid Temporal Puniſhment, is forced to ſpeak thoſe things which are in no wiſe agreeable to the Heart. This however admits again of a Limitation; For herein are not comprehended theſe Points, which proceeding from

Coloſ. 2. 16. 21, 22. 1 Tim. 4. 3, 4.

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§. 46. In case of any Difference or Controversie concerning any Point of Doctrine which may sometimes arise in the Church, so, that the Teachers are divided in their Opinions, it belongs to the Sovereign Authority to take care that these Differences may be composed, not only as the Sovereign is a Member of the Church, but as he is the Supream Head of the Commonwealth; It having been frequently observed, that Differences of Opinions and Animosities of the Parties concerned, cause great Commotions in the State. Upon such Occasions Sovereigns have a Right to call together an Assembly of the most able Divines, and to authorise them to examine the Controversie, and to determine it according to the Tenure of the Scriptures; The Supream Direction of this Assembly ought to be managed by the Prince's Authority; For, since it can scarce be supposed that matters should be transacted there without Heats and Animosities, it will be both for the Honour and Interest of this Assembly, if by the Presence of certain Persons well versed in Business, these Heats be allayed, and matters carried on with an equal Temperament. Neither do I see how any one besides the Prince can lay claim to this Power of calling such an Assembly; for, put the case, that one Party should refuse to appear, and to submit unto the other's Direction, which way will they be able to compel them to it? And who is it, that can with less Difficulty

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ing towards the maintaining a good Order, and the Glory of the Church (which however, ought not to be done without the Advice, at leaſt, of the chief Men of the Church) and laſtly, give to thoſe Statutes the force of Civil Laws. This Power nevertheleſs, of making Eccleſiaſtical Statutes, muſt be exerciſed with a great deal of caution, the ſame being limited to the outward form of the Church-Government, and to maintain its Order and Decency, Chriſtians being not to be over-heap'd with a vaſt number of Canons. For, thoſe that ſtretch the Power of Soveraigns to ſuch a pitch, as to make them the abſolute Judges of the Chriſtian Religion, and to attribute to them a Right of eſtabliſhing certain Articles of Faith by Civil Laws, or to annex to them a force equal to the Civil Conſtitutions, and to force upon their Subjects a certain Religion, under ſevere Penalties, or oblige them either to profeſs or to deny certain Points of Doctrine, which are controverted amongſt Chriſtians; Theſe, I ſay, act quite contrary to the true Genius of the Chriſtian Religion, and to the Method made uſe of by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, for the propagating of this Doctrine; They deſtroy the very Eſſential part of our Faith, which being a Gift of the Holy Ghoſt, and a Belief founded in our Hearts, is tranſmuted into an outward Confeſſion, where the Tongue, to avoid Temporal Puniſhment, is forced to ſpeak thoſe things which are in no wiſe agreeable to the Heart. This however admits again of a Limitation; For herein are not comprehended theſe Points, which proceeding from

Coloſ. 2. 16. 21, 22. 1 Tim. 4. 34.

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Rules, this has not the leaſt affinity with true Religion, unleſs he at the ſame time does feel an inward motion, and hearty compliance with what he profeſſes. Neither ought People, according to the true Genius of the Doctrine of Chriſt, be enticed to receive the Chriſtian Religion, by Temporal Intereſt, Honours, or other ſuch like Advantages; for, Chriſt did promiſe, that thoſe that followed him, ſhould receive their Reward in the Life to come, but fore-told them nothing but Croſſes and Tribulations in this. And, thoſe that embrace any Religion out of a Motive of Temporal Advantages, do plainly ſhew, that they have a greater Value for their own Intereſt, than Religion. And certainly, ſcarce any body, that has but common ſenſe, can perſwade himſelf, that ſuch a ſort of Worſhip can be pleaſing to God Almighty. Sovereigns being not conſtituted for Religion's ſake, they cannot under that colour exact from their Subjects a blind Obedience in matters of Religion, it being unqueſtionable, that if Subjects ſhould blindfold follow the Religion of their Sovereign, they cannot by all his Authority be aſſured of their Salvation; from whence it is evident, that, in caſe any Subject be fully convinced, that he can out of the Holy Scripture diſcover any Errors, which are crept into the Church, even that by Law eſtabliſhed (eſpecially concerning any Principal Point of Faith) he neither can, nor ought to be hindered in his deſign by the Sovereign Authority, before his Reaſons be heard, and well debated in the preſence of

the beſt and ableſt Judges; and, if by th he be legally and plainly convicted of his rer, then, and not before, ought he to b lenced. To force People into the Churc the bare Civil Authority, muſt needs fill Commonwealth with Hypocrites, who car be ſuppoſed to Act according to the Dict of their Conſciences. For, ſince in Relig Matters an abſolute Uniformity betwixt Heart and Tongue is required, how ca otherwiſe be, but that ſuch as profeſs a R gion diſagreeable to their Opinion, ſhc never be ſatisfied in their Conſciences, w they conſider, that they impoſe upon God mighty.

What Prerogatives belong to Sovereigns, as being Protectors of the Publick Tranquility.

§. 49. The Care of preſerving the Pub Peace, belonging in a moſt peculiar manne Sovereigns, has furniſhed ſome with a ſp ous Pretence to affirm, that ſince differe in Religion cauſe frequent Convulſions in State, and it is to be deemed one of the gr eſt Happineſſes of a Government, if its ſ jects, in general, are of one Religion, means, tho' never ſo violent, may be pu execution to extirpate theſe Differences in ligion. They alledge, that as much more cious our Souls are before our Bodies, the n Sovereigns are obliged to be watchful them; and, that the true Love which a Sover bears to his Subjects, can never be more ſpicuous, than when he takes effectual ca their Salvation. Theſe, it muſt be confe are very ſpecious Pretences, and have ſc times had ſuch powerful influence over Pri who were elſe naturally not inclined to S

rity, that they have nevertheleſs by theſe plauſible Arguments been prevailed upon to aſſiſt with their Authority the cruel Deſigns of Prieſts. It will therefore not be beyond our ſcope, to make a ſtrict Enquiry what account ought to be made of theſe ſo ſpecious Reaſons in a well conſtituted Government. In the firſt place then, it is to be conſidered, that it has been foretold by our Saviour, that there ſhould always be in the Church Weeds amongſt the Wheat; that is to ſay, that there ſhould be falſe Doctrines raiſed in the Church; and theſe, according to the Commands of our Saviour, were not to be extirpated Root and Branch, but to be reſerved for the Day of Judgment. For a Sovereign that takes to ſuch violent courſes, may make a havock among his Subjects, which commonly proves equally pernicious to the Innocent and Guilty; nevertheleſs, he will find it impracticable quite to aboliſh all Errors and Differences in the Church. Never did any body ſhew a greater Love to Mankind than our Saviour, who ſacrificed himſelf for our Salvation; Yet he made uſe of no other ways to propagate his Doctrine, than Teaching, when he might have commanded Twelve Legions of Angels to force Mankind to Obedience. How can a Prince be eſteemed to follow the Foot-ſteps of Chriſt, who makes ſuch profligate Wretches as the Dragoons his Apoſtles, for the Converſion of his Subjects? That Pretence of the Love of Sovereigns toward their Subjects, let it be never ſo ſpecious, he ought not under that colour endeavour to ſubvert or alter

claim this Prerogative as properly belonging to their high Station and Princely Office.

Concerning the Right of calling together a Synod.

§. 46. In case of any Difference or Controversie concerning any Point of Doctrine which may sometimes arise in the Church, so, that the Teachers are divided in their Opinions, it belongs to the Sovereign Authority to take care that these Differences may be composed, not only as the Sovereign is a Member of the Church, but as he is the Supream Head of the Commonwealth; It having been frequently observed, that Differences of Opinions and Animosities of the Parties concerned, cause great Commotions in the State. Upon such Occasions Sovereigns have a Right to call together an Assembly of the most able Divines, and to authorise them to examine the Controversie, and to determine it according to the Tenure of the Scriptures; The Supream Direction of this Assembly ought to be managed by the Prince's Authority; For, since it can scarce be supposed that matters should be transacted there without Heats and Animosities, it will be both for the Honour and Interest of this Assembly, if by the Presence of certain Persons well versed in Business, these Heats be allayed, and matters carried on with an equal Temperament. Neither do I see how any one besides the Prince can lay claim to this Power of calling such an Assembly; for, put the case, that one Party should refuse to appear, and to submit unto the other's Direction, which way will they be able to compel them to it? And who is it, that can with less Difficult

Difficulty put in execution the Decrees of ſuch a Synod, than he, who has the Sovereign Power in his Hands? Tho' at the ſame time it ought not to be forgotten, that this Power muſt not extend it ſelf beyond its due Bounds, but be ſuitable to the Genius of the Chriſtian Religion. But, in caſe Divines out of other Countries are to be called unto this Convocation or Aſſembly, it is, I think, a plain caſe, that theſe caunot appear there without leave firſt obtained from their Sovereigns. And if a Council ſhould be called, conſiſting of ſelected Divines out of a great many Commonwealths, this cannot be done without a foregoing Agreement made betwixt thoſe Sovereigns that are concerned therein. For it is not allowable for Subjects of another State to come to us upon ſuch an Account, nor can ours go to them upon ſuch an Errand, unleſs by joint Conſent of the higher Powers. And ſince Sovereigns cannot claim any Juriſdiction over one another, there will be no place left for any Prerogative, but Matters muſt be tranſacted according to mutual Contract.

Their Right concerning Church-Diſcipline.

§. 47. For what Reaſons the Primitive Chriſtians did introduce Church Diſcipline, *viz.* to be diſtinguiſhed from the Heathens by their holy Life and Converſation, and to ſupply the Defects of the civil Pagan Laws, which did not reſtrain them from ſuch Vices as were abominable to the Chriſtians, has been ſufficiently explained before. This Reaſon takes no more place now, after whole Commonwealths as well as their Sovereigns are entred

entred into the Communion of the Chriſtian Church; for there is not the ſame Occaſion now to be diſtinguiſhed from the Heathens by an unſpotted Converſation, after the rooting out of the Pagan Religion, all Chriſtians being under an equal Obligation to endeavour an unblemiſhed Life. But, notwithſtanding the general Converſion of whole Commonwealths to the Chriſtian Faith, care ought to be taken, that Holineſs of Life be not laid aſide among Chriſtians; from whence ariſes this Queſtion: Whether it be better to make uſe of the antient Church Diſcipline now, in the ſame manner as it was practiſed in the Primitive times? Or, whether it be not more expedient to admit of ſome Alterations, after Sovereigns are entred into the Communion of the Church? The laſt of theſe two ſeems to be moſt probable; becauſe this antient Church Diſcipline which was introduced for a certain time, to ſupply the deficiency of the Pagan Laws, and to amend their vicious Lives and Converſation, and was thus left to the direction of certain People, is not an Eſſential part of Chriſtianity; and, beſides this, carries this Inconveniency along with it, that it may eaſily degenerate into a kind of a pretended Soveraignty, and prove prejudicial to the Civil Power. And, as Soveraigns have a Right to provide againſt every thing that may be the probable cauſe of Convulſions in the State; ſo may this defect be ſupplied by the Civil Laws, and Vices may be ſuppreſſed by Civil Puniſhments. Neither do I ſee any reaſon to the contrary, why

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are of opinion, that Sovereigns may with a ſafe Conſcience give Protection to their Subjects, tho' of an erroneous Opinion, provided it be for the benefit of the Commonwealth; eſpecially if care be taken, that they do not draw away others into the ſame Error. For, ſuppoſing the eſtabliſhed Religion both in point of Doctrine and Morality, to excel all others, it is to be hoped that the Diſſenting Parties may be in time brought over to it, rather than to be feared, that they ſhould ſeduce others; Beſides, that it may contribute to the encreaſe of the Zeal and Learning of the eſtabliſhed Clergy, it being ſufficiently proved by Experience, that in thoſe places and times, where and when no Religious Differences were in agitation, the Clergy ſoon degenrated into Idleneſs and Barbarity.

Sovereigns in matters of Religion ought not to be miſguided by Flatterers.

§. 51. Furthermore, as Sovereigns in all other Matters of Moment ought to act with great Circumſpection; ſo, eſpecially in matters of Religion, they cannot proceed with too much caution, an injuſtice of this nature, being the moſt ſenſible of all that can be done to a Subject. For what can be more abominable, than to let Subjects ſuffer unjuſtly for their Faith in Chriſt, and that perhaps for no other reaſon, but, becauſe ſome others out of ſelf Intereſt, cannot agree with them in Opinion. And, if a Prince, who prompted by his own cruel Inclinations tyranniſes over his Subjects, is odious to all the World, how much more abominable appears a Prince, who acts the part of an Executioner, and is made an Inſtrument by others to fulfil their cruel

Deſigns againſt their Fellow Subjects? All Chriſtian Princes therefore, as they tender their Conſciences, ought to avoid all manner of Extreamities in Matters of this Nature, which ought never to be undertaken, unleſs they be well inſtructed beforehand in every particular Point. A Prince ought not only to be ſatisfied with, or rely entirely on what is repreſented to him by his Clergy, (tho' never ſo pious in outward appearance;) there being too many Inſtances to be given, that the beſt of Princes, by their own Inclinations, abhorring all manner of Cruelty, have, by the Inſtigation of over-zealous Clergy-Men, turn'd the moſt cruel Tyrants: We ſcarce ever read of any Prince, who undertook to decide Controverſies in Phyſick, or other Sciences (except he had attained to a particular Knowledge in theſe Matters) and, why ſhould Sovereigns be too forward in deciding Religious Differences, which are of much greater Moment, (the eternal and temporal welfare of Millions of People do depend thereon) unleſs they be very well inſtructed in every thing that has any relation to it? And, ſince Princes very rarely beſtow ſufficient Time and Pains in being fully inſtructed in Divinity, it is to be wiſhed, that they would be byaſſed by their own natural Underſtanding, rather than be influenc'd by the Opinions of others. As for an Inſtance, in thoſe Controverſies which are betwixt the *Proteſtants* and *Papiſts*, there are ſuch evident Signs, from whence it is a difficult matter for a Chriſtian Prince to diſcern, which of theſe two ought to be preferred before the other.

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Rules, this has not the leaſt affinity with true Religion, unleſs he at the ſame time does feel an inward motion, and hearty compliance with what he profeſſes. Neither ought People, according to the true Genius of the Doctrine of Chriſt, be enticed to receive the Chriſtian Religion, by Temporal Intereſt, Honours, or other ſuch like Advantages; for, Chriſt did promiſe, that thoſe that followed him, ſhould receive their Reward in the Life to come, but fore-told them nothing but Croſſes and Tribulations in this. And, thoſe that embrace any Religion out of a Motive of Temporal Advantages, do plainly ſhew, that they have a greater Value for their own Intereſt, than Religion. And certainly, ſcarce any body, that has but common ſenſe, can perſwade himſelf, that ſuch a ſort of Worſhip can be pleaſing to God Almighty. Sovereigns being not conſtituted for Religion's ſake, they cannot under that colour exact from their Subjects a blind Obedience in matters of Religion, it being unqueſtionable, that if Subjects ſhould blindfold follow the Religion of their Sovereign, they cannot by all his Authority be aſſured of their Salvation; from whence it is evident, that, in caſe any Subject be fully convinced, that he can out of the Holy Scripture diſcover any Errors, which are crept into the Church, even that by Law eſtabliſhed (eſpecially concerning any Principal Point of Faith) he neither can, nor ought to be hindered in his deſign by the Sovereign Authority, before his Reaſons be heard, and well debated in the preſence of

ſo ignorant as not to know, what great Difficulties and Obſtacles were to be ſurmounted before it could be obtained, that the *Augſburgh* Confeſſion was read to the Emperour *Charles* V. All which, taken together, are moſt evident Proofs to any unbyaſſed Perſon, that the *Proteſtants* act like Men, as relying upon the goodneſs of their Cauſe; but the *Roman Catholicks*, as miſtruſting themſelves, and fearing, that if their Doctrine ſhould be examined, according to the Tenure of the holy Scripture, and out of the *Proteſtant* Wrttings, the ſame would ſcarce bear the Touchſtone. It may alſo be taken into conſideration, how far different the Intereſt of the *Roman Catholicks* Party is from that of the *Proteſtants*: For, tho' both Parties with equal Zeal in Publick pretend to the Honour of God, and the Truth of the Goſpel; and it is not to be denied, but that a great many among the *Roman Catholicks*, are very Zealous for the ſame; nevertheleſs, if we duely conſider the Nature of Mankind in general, it may eaſily be ſuppoſed, that they aim at ſomething more; And, what this ſomething is, is eaſily diſcernable, if we make a due compariſon betwixt the Clergy of both Parties. Among the *Proteſtants*, the greateſt part of the Clergy are ſo ſtinted in their Revenues, as to give them no opportunity of living in State; what Reſpect is paid them, is on the account of their Function as being Teachers, their power very ſeldom reaches beyond their Revenues, which are very moderate, and oftentimes very mean. Both their Perſons and Eſtates depend from the Authority of their So-

Sovereigns, neither have they any where elſe to ſeek for Protection. On the contrary, in what Pomp and affluence of Fortune does the *Popiſh* Clergy live! Unto what height have they not exalted their Power in *Europe*! Have they not ſo ordered their Matters, as to be almoſt independant from the Civil Magiſtrates? What likelihood can there be in all this, that the *Proteſtants* ſhould be as much concerned for a Temporal By-Intereſt as the *Popiſh* Clergy? For, whereas, they firſt can expect no more than what is alloted them already, the latter have no leſs in view than vaſt Riches, and the Poſſeſſions of whole Kingdoms. All theſe Matters duely conſidered, may be convincing Proofs, that all the Clamour which the *Popiſh* Clergy makes againſt the *Proteſtants*, is of the ſame nature with that of *Demetrius* at *Epheſus*, when he exclaimed againſt St. *Paul*, Love and Meekneſs being the products of the Chriſtian Faith; the Cruelties of the *Popiſh* Clergy exerciſed againſt *Proteſtants*, ought to be ſuſpected by Princes, and ſerve them as a forewarning; what good is to be expected from thoſe that proſecute with ſo much Barbarity all ſuch, as oppoſe their Pride and Ambition? After the Perſecutions were ceaſed in the Primitive Church, the *Arians* were the firſt, who ſhew'd their teeth to the Chriſtians; But they would have bluſhed for ſhame, if they ſhould have attempted to propagate their Religion by force of Arms, and ſuch other cruel Perſecutions as are now in vogue among the *Popiſh* Clergy. If we were not ſufficiently convinced, that the Spirit of Envy is not the

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Spirit of Chriſt; we may be inſtructed as to this Point by our Saviour himſelf (when
Luk. 9. 54, 55, 56. he rebuked *James* and *John*, who would have fire come down from Heaven) in theſe words: *Ye know not, what manner of Spirit you are of; For the Son of Man is not come to deſtroy Mens lives, but to ſave them.* The Sword of Chriſt is not girted on the ſide of Men,
Rev. 19. 15. but goes out of his Mouth, and in all the holy Scripture, there is not one paſſage, where the Church of Chriſt is ſaid to be drunken with the Blood of Hereticks; but it is ſaid of
Rev. 17. 6. the Whore of *Babylon*, that *ſhe is drunken with the Blood of the Saints, and with the Blood of the Martyrs of Chriſt.*

Sovereigns are often encroached upon in their rights under a religious pretext.

§. 52. Laſtly, Since Sovereigns ought to be jealous of their own Prerogatives, they may without Injuſtice make an Enquiry, whether the Proteſtant or the Popiſh Religion be moſt encroaching upon their Authority, and which of theſe two be moſt conſiſtent with the Civil Government. For whenever the Civil Power bears any diminution under a Religious Pretence, it is then high time for Sovereigns to look about them, to examine upon what Foundation theſe Pretenſions are built; it being evident, that Civil Goverment was introduced before the Chriſtian Religion, and that therefore it ought plainly to be demonſtrated, how Civil Authority came to be diminiſhed by the Chriſtian Religion. Now, if we look into the Conſtitution of the Popiſh Clergy, it is manifeſt, that by many ſteps and degrees, and by various Artifices and Intrigues, they have at laſt patch'd up a Potent State of their own;

own; and that their Supream Head, for these many Ages past, is possess'd of great Territories, and Acts as a Sovereign; and, not only this, but also obtrudes his Authority upon all such as profess the *Roman* Catholick Religion. For, they don't think it sufficient that the whole Clergy have their dependance from him, but he pretends to an Absolute Authority of determining all Matters of Faith, by which means he is sure to guide the Minds of the People where ever he pleases. If any thing in the World is destructive to the Civil Powers, it must of necessity be this, when a Party inhabiting their Territories, disown their Jurisdiction and depending from a Foreign Power; deny the Authority of their Natural Prince over them, or at least acknowledge it no longer than they think it convenient. If Neighbouring States are commonly the most jealous of one another, must it not be look'd upon as a great Solocism of State, to permit such as depend from a Foreign Jurisdiction to abide in the Commonwealth? It is next door to take Foreign Garisons into our Forts, or to allow a Foreign Force to Encamp in the midst of our Dominions. And this Mischief seems to be the more pernicious, when the Revenues, by which the Grandeur of this Ecclesiastical State is maintained, are squeezed out of the Subjects of any Prince, and the best part of his Territories exhausted; whereas on the contrary, these Leeches are not only freed from all manner of Taxes, but also pretend to a Legislative Authority, so as to inflict Punishments upon the Subjects, and to Absolve them from

from their Allegiance due to their Sover
I cannot see how Princes, without grea
judice to the Commonweal, can allo
least Authority over their Persons,
Clergy; For, if the Prince and they h
to jarr together, the poor Subjects pay
with a Vengeance, when they are to ser
Masters of a contrary side at one time
the Taxes must fall the heavier upon th
jects, where the Clergy are exempted
all Contributions. Lastly, is it not a
Burthen to the Subjects, to be subject b
an Ecclesiastical and Temporal Jurisdi
The former being generally the most s
as is most evident in *Spain* and *Italy*,
the Courts of Inquisition are in vogu
being therefore beyond all question, th
these things are practised by the *Roma*
tholicks, but in no wise by the Protest
such Princes, as, being misled by the P
Clergy, endeavour to extirpate their P
stant Subjects, Act not only contrary t
stice, but even against the very Dictat
right Reason. What has been objecte
some, *viz.* That Protestants have not be
together free from the imputation of r
Disturbances in the State, and having j
with a Foreign Power, scarce deserves an
swer; For, this is not to be imputed to
gion it self, bnt rather, to some dange
Juncture, and other Circumstances, w
often prove the occasion of dangerous C
motions in a State; Or else, the Papists
first begun the Dance, and what Wonder
if some Protestants, to avoid their
Def

Deſigns againſt them, have endeavoured to repel the Fury of their Adverſaries; and when they found themſelves inſufficient, have ſought for Aid by Foreign Princes. For, as it is the greateſt piece of Injuſtice to compel Subjects by force of Arms to any Religion, ſo theſe may juſtly defend their Religion by force of Arms, eſpecially if they live under a Government where they have a Right belonging to them of Protecting their Liberties againſt any Invaders.

§. 53. Laſt of all, it very well deſerves to make an Enquiry who it is that has the Power in the Commonwealth to amend ſuch Errors and Abuſes, as are crept into the Church, either in Point of Doctrine, Morality, or Church-Government? Or, which turns to the ſame Account, who has the Right of Reformation? Where firſt of all it is unqueſtionable, that there is no occaſion of a Reformation, where the Clergy, upon Admonition, deſiſt from theſe Abuſes; like as when a Creditor, upon Summons, is paid by his Debtor, ought to ſupercede his Action againſt him. But, put the caſe, that the Clergy either abſolutely refuſe, or from time to time protract to deſiſt from ſuch Abuſes, ſo that there is but two ways left to be choſen; either patiently to ſubmit to their capricious Humour, or elſe certain Perſons in the State, being damnified by theſe Abuſes, have a Right and Power to controul their Extravagancies. Thoſe that maintain the firſt Poſition, muſt prove, that the Clergy has been inveſted with ſuch an unlimited Power by God Almighty, to impoſe *Concerning the Right of Reformation.*

upon Christians, even the most absurd Matt
at ; leasure, without being liable to be c
troubled by any Power upon Earth ; Or, t
must demonstrate, that Christians have a
lutely submitted their Faith to the Cle
and that in such a manner, that every th
which should be ordained by them, should
received for Truth with all imaginable
mission and patience. But, because it wo
savour of too much Impudence to pretend
the first, it lies then at their Door to pro
that the Clergy, and their Supream Head,
never err, either in Point of Doctrine,
remonies, or Church-Government ; All wh
having been sufficiently demonstrated to
contrary, by the consent of several Christi
Nations. We are of Opinion, that wh
any Abuses are crept into the Church, whi
are prejudicial to the Commonwealth, or t
Authority of Sovereigns, these, by vert
of their Sovereign Right and Prerogativ
have a Power to abolish and reform all su
matters as interfere with the Publick Go
and Civil Authority. At the same time,
cannot be denyed, but that in a case of su
moment it may be very convenient to acquai
the People with the Reasons of such a Refo
mation, lest they should be surprized at i
and look upon it as an Innovation, which mig
prove of dangerous consequence. And,
especially, the Rights of the People are im
ched by these Abuses, this Reformation oug
to be undertaken with the knowledge and a
probation of the Subjects. It may be obj
ed, that by such a Reformation Divisions a
rais

ed in the Church. But this is to be look'd
n as a matter of no great Weight; ſuch a
iſion being not to be imputed to thoſe that
ifie ſuch Errors, but to thoſe that obſti-
ely refuſe to return into the right Path, ei-
r out o. Self-intereſt or Pride. There is
hing more obvious out of the antient Eccle-
ical Hiſtory, than that ſuch as were plainly
victed of an Error, uſed to be excluded
n the Communion of the Church. But ſuch
egin a Reformation upon a good and legal
count, can under no Colour whatſoever be
uſed of Schiſm or Rebellion. For, thoſe
Rebels, who by forcible Ways endeavour
withdraw themſelves from the Allegiance
to their lawful Sovereign: Whereas all
n as free themſelves from Abuſes unjuſtly
oſed upon them, without their own con-
, or any Divine Authority, rather deſerve
e ſtiled defenders of their own Liberty
Conſcience; eſpecially, if theſe Abuſes
Errors are dangerous to their Souls. For,
Teacher, no Biſhop, no Convention what-
ver, was ever inveſted with an abſolute
ver of domineering over Chriſtians at plea-
, ſo that no Remedy ſhould be left
inſt their Uſurpation. It cannot therefore
be look'd upon as a great piece of Impu-
ce in the *Roman Catholick* Party, when they
me to themſelves wholly and entirely the
le of the Church, with excluſion to all
ers, that are not of the ſame Communion.
, they either muſt pretend their Church to
he Univerſal, or elſe a particular Church;
the Univerſal Church, is, according to the

relates here to a Doctrine, not to a Sovereign State, whose Authority is to be Universal over Christendom, so that that Church is to be esteemed a Catholick Church, which contains every particular Point of Doctrine in the true sense, as they are proposed in the Holy Scripture; And those are called Hereticks, who only profess some particular Points out of the Holy Writ, (for such as absolutely reject it, are counted Infidels and Reprobates) but either deny, or explain the rest in a wrong and perverted sense. How can the Popish Clergy therefore assume the Title of the Catholick Church, before they have, and that without contradiction, proved every Point of their Faith out of the Holy Scripture? Or, exclude us Protestants from that Title, till they have proved that our Doctrine is contrary to it? Lastly, It is called the Apostolical Church, as being founded upon the Doctrine of the Apostles. And the true Church loses nothing of its intrinsick Value, whether it has been planted by the Apostles, or whether the Apostolical Doctrine has been transmitted to them by others.

Whether Subjects without the Consent of their Sovereigns, may attempt a Reformation from an Erroneous Religion?

§. 54. But it is not a very difficult Task to introduce a Reformation in Religion with the mutual Consent of Sovereign and Subjects; so it may be questioned, whether Subjects may attempt a Reformation, when their Sovereigns, and the whole Clergy, or at least the greatest part of them, do not acknowledge their Error, but rather pretend to maintain it? In this case, it is our Opinion that, provided these Errors do touch the Fundamental Points

Points of our Faith, [illegible] as by the Grace of God, and the [illegible] of his holy Spirit, have [illegible] the true Knowledge, may separate [illegible] from the Communion of that Church without the Consent of their Sovereigns or the Clergy. For, every body being accountable to God for his Religion, and answerable for his own Soul, whole Nation cannot absolutely be committed to any Body else; and, a Christian, in Matters of Faith, being not altogether to rely upon his Sovereign or the Clergy, (at least no further than their Doctrine is congruous with the holy Scripture.) It is undeniable, that Subjects may separate themselves from the Communion of that Church, which is professed by their Sovereign and Clergy, provided they can make it evidently appear, that such a Church is infected with gross Abuses, and dangerous Errors. For, the Church is a Colledge, whose Members are not kept in Union by any Temporal Power, but by the Union of the Faith; and, whosoever relinquishes that, he dissolves the sacred Tye of the Believers. Besides that, it is not absolutely necessary for our Salvation, that the Church be composed of a great Number, but the same may be obtained, either by a greater or lesser Number of the Believers. Neither can this Separation prove in the least prejudicial to the Sovereign Authority, it being supposed, that those who have separated themselves adhere to the true pure Doctrine of the Gospel, free from all Poison, and Principles dangerous or prejudicial to the Government. For, civil Society was not institu-

ted for Religion's ſake; neither does the Church of Chriſt participate of the nature of a Temporal State; and therefore a Prince that embraces the Chriſtian Faith, does not thereby acquire an abſolute Sovereignty over the Church or Mens Conſciences. So, that, if, notwithſtanding this Separation, the Subjects pay due Allegiance to their Prince in Temporal Affairs, there is no reaſon ſufficient which can oblige him to trouble them meerly upon the ſcore of their Conſciences. For, what loſs is it to the Prince, whether his Subjects are of the ſame Religion with himſelf, or of another? Or, (which was ſuppoſed before) whether they did maintain the ſame Errors, as he does? The caſe indeed, would be quite different, if they ſhould endeavour to withdaw themſelves from their Allegiance, to ſet up a ſeparate Society without his Conſent; tho' it is undeniable, that there are ſome Caſes of Neceſſity, when this civil Tye or Allegiance may be diſſolved, as for Inſtance; when Subjects, for want of ſufficient Protection from their natural Prince, are ſo hardly preſſed upon by a more Potent Enemy, that they are forc'd to ſubmit to his Power. And granted the Power of Sovereigns in the Church to be much greater, than in effect it is, Subjects are nevertheleſs bound to take care of their Souls, whoſe Salvation is to be preferr'd before all other things, in regard of which they may ſeparate themſelves from an Eſtabliſhed Religion, provided they are convinced of its Errors. For, that Subject who ſacrifices his Life for his Prince, does doubtleſs a glorious Action; but what Prince

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can be ſo unreaſonable, as to expect that his Subjects ſhould Sacrifice their Souls to the Devil for his ſake. That Prince therefore who does trouble his faithful Subjects for no other reaſon, but becauſe they cannot conform to his Opinion (eſpecially if they can maintain theirs out of the Holy Scripture) commits an Act of Injuſtice; Nay, I cannot ſee how he can with Juſtice force them out of his Territories. It is true, he may refuſe to receive Hereticks into his Dominions, unleſs it be for Reaſons of State; Neither can a true Believer take it amiſs, if he is not permitted to ſettle in a Commonwealth govern'd by Hereticks. For, the Right of Naturalization belongs to Sovereigns, which they may refuſe and give to whom they think it convenient. But, as it is certainly the greateſt Injuſtice in the World, to force an in-born Natural Subject, who has ſettled all his Fortunes in a Commonwealth, meerly for his Religion's ſake, without being convicted of his Error, out of his Native Country, to the great detriment and danger of himſelf and his Family. So, if a Subject inclines voluntarily to leave his Native Country, either to avoid the Frowns of his Prince, or the hatred of the Clergy and Common People, and to ſerve God with more freedom according to his own Conſcience, it ought not to be refuſed by his Sovereign. I remember there is a certain Proverb uſed among the *Germans*, viz. *He that Commands the Country, Commands Religion.* But this cannot be applied to the Princes of the *Roman Catholick* Religion, who cannot lay any Claim to it, it being evident

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that the Popiſh Clergy do not allow any ſuch thing to theſe Princes; And, as to what concerns the Proteſtant Eſtates of *Germany*, it cannot be denied, but that they made uſe of this Pretenſion againſt the Emperor at the time of the Reformation, which however ought to be thus interpreted; That they denied the Emperor to have any Power of intermedling in the Affairs relating to their own Dominions, not, that only they claim'd it as belonging to the Rights of Sovereignty to impoſe any Religion, tho' never ſo falſe, upon their Subjects; notwithſtanding all which, there are not wanting Examples, that Princes have acted conformable to this Proverb with their Subjects. A Prince, who troubles his faithful Subjects meerly upon the ſcore of Religion, commits a groſs Error; no Chriſtian Prince being obliged to propagate his Religion by forcible means; provided his Subjects ſtand firm to their Allegiance to him, he being not anſwerable in particular for their Religion. It cannot be taken notice of without aſtoniſhment, how both in former times and our Age, ſome Princes, who were naturally not enclined to Cruelty, having in other reſpects given great Proofs of their Clemency, yet have been prevailed upon to raiſe the moſt horrid Perſecutions againſt their Subjects, barely upon the ſcore of Religion. But it has been foretold in Holy Scripture, that this Fate ſhould attend the Chriſtian Church, when it is ſaid, Rev. 18. 3. That *Mighty Kings upon Earth ſhould commit Whoredom with the Whore of Babylon*. And, who is ignorant that Gallants will often commit

mit the moſt barbarous Acts, merely to pleaſe their Harlots? All true Chriſtians therefore ought couragiouſly to oppoſe the Threats and Attempts of this Beaſt, committing the reſt to Divine Providence. And, as for ſuch Princes and States, as have ſhaken off the Yoke of Popiſh Slavery, if they ſeriouſly reflect, how their fellow-Proteſtants are perſecuted, and in what barbarous manner they are treated, will, queſtionleſs without my Advice, take ſuch meaſures, as may be moſt convenient for to ſecure themſelves from ſo imminent a Danger.

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The following

ANIMADVERSIONS

Made by the Author, upon ſome Paſſages of a Book, Entituled,

A POLITICAL EPITOMY,

Concerning the Power of Sovereigns in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.

WRITTEN BY

ADRIAN HOUTUYN,

Having a very near Relation to the former TREATISE, it was thought fit to Inſert them here by way of

APPENDIX.

IT is a Queſtion of the greateſt moment, which, if rightly determined, tends to the Benefit of Mankind in general, *viz.* Unto whom, and under what Limitations the Power in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs is to be aſcribed in the State? If the old Proverb, *That thoſe who chuſe the middle way are commonly the moſt ſucceſsful*, has not loſt its force, it may without queſtion, be moſt properly applied in this Caſe, where both Extreams are equally dangerous, ſince thereby the Conſciences of Subjects are left to the arbitrary diſpoſal, either of the Pope of *Rome*, or their Sovereigns.

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There having not been wanting, both in the laſt and our Age, Men eminent for their Learning, who have with very ſolid Arguments oppoſed the Tyranny of the firſt, it is but reaſonable for us, to take heed, that ſince we have eſcaped the danger of *Scylla*, we may not be ſwallowed up by *Charybdis*. For, as ſcarce any body that is in his right Senſes can go about to deny, that the Sovereign Power ows its original either to God, or the general Conſent of the People; So it is a matter mutually advantageous both to the Prince and Subjects, to underſtand, how far this Power is limited in the State, that the firſt may not tranſgreſs their due Bounds, and, inſtead of being Fathers of their Subjects, prove their moſt dangerous Enemies. *Adrian Houtuyn* a Civilian in *Holland*, having in a Treatiſe, called, *A Political Epitomy*, inſerted ſeveral Aſſertions tending to the latter of theſe two Extremes, and it having been obſerved of late, that this Book has been recommended by ſome *Doctors* in the Law, to the great detriment of young Students; I thought it not amiſs to make ſome Animadverſions upon his LXIII, and following SECTIONS, which may ſerve as a Guide to the younger Sort, leſt they, under the Cloak of aſſerting the Prerogatives of Sovereigns, may be miſlead into the latter of theſe Extremes, and attribute that to the Prince, which God has reſeryed as his own Prerogative, and thus, irrecoverably, play the Prodigal with their own Liberty and Property.

This Author ſpeaking concerning the Prerogative of Princes, *Sect.* LXIII, runs on thus:

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He has an uncontroul'd Power over all External, Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, which are not determined in the Holy Scripture. He alledges for a Reaſon, becauſe that Power is granted to Sovereigns at the ſame time when Subjects ſubmitted, themſelves and their Fortunes to their Diſpoſal. But it ought to be taken into Conſideration, that certain Matters belonging to the external Exerciſe of Religious Worſhip have ſo ſtrict an Union with the internal Part, that, if the firſt be not diſpoſed in a manner agreeable to this inſeparable Tye, the latter muſt of neceſſity undergo ſuch Alterations, as are inconſiſtent with its Nature. And, ſince Mr. *Houtuyn* do's not leave the internal Part to the Diſpoſal of Sovereigns, how can the exterior Worſhip be ſubmitted to their meer Pleaſure, conſidering this ſtrict Union betwixt them? Beſides this *General Submiſſion*, he ſpeaks of admits of Limitation, in regard of that End, for which Civil Societies were Inſtituted, which is, the mutual defence againſt Violences: From whence it is evident, that there are certain Matters, belonging to every private Perſon, derived from the State of natural Freedom, which were not abſolutely left to the Diſpoſal of Sovereigns, at leaſt, no further than they were neceſſary to obtain that End. Religion having not any relation to this End, it is not to be imagined, that Subjects did ſubmit their Religion to the arbitrary Pleaſure of Sovereigns. And, it being unqueſtionable, that Subjects may exerciſe certain Acts belonging to them by Vertue of an inherent Right, derived from the free State of Nature, and independent from their

their Sovereigns, it may rationally be concluded, that, when Subjects did ſubmit themſelves, in Matters of Religion, to their Sovereigns, it was done with this Suppoſition, that both the Prince and Subjects were of one and the ſame Religion; and that the external Exerciſe of Religious Worſhip was not left to the Diſpoſal of the firſt, any further, than in ſuch Matters as are indifferent in regard of the internal Part of it. What is alledged concerning the the *maintaining a good Order, and avoiding of Confuſion*, it is to be obſerved, that this is not the main End, for which Civil Societies were Inſtituted, nor has it any relation to it, but only thus far, as it may be inſtrumental to maintain the Publick Tranquility.

As to *N.* 2. It is to be obſerved, that, becauſe Prieſts have a dependance from the Civil Power in certain Reſpects belonging to its Juriſdiction, this does not involve Religion (conſidered as ſuch) under the ſame Subjection. The following words ought alſo to be taken notice of: *A Chriſtian Prince commands over the Church, as being a Colledge, and repreſenting one ſingle Perſon in the Commonwealth. The Church, thus conſidered, is a Civil Society or Body Politick, founded upon the Publick Authority and Power, and ought to be regarded, as being in the ſame condition with other Colledges and Bodies Politick; and in this Senſe a King is the Head of the Church in his Dominions.* Whoever will conſider the real difference betwixt the Church and Commonwealth, muſt needs find as many Errors, as there are words here. For, becauſe a Prince has the Sovereign Juriſdiction in a Com-

Commonwealth, consisting of Christian Subjects; no inference is to be made, that therefore he may, in the same degree, exercise his Sovereignty in the Church, as in the Commonwealth, and that in the same Sense, he may be called, *The Supream Head of the Church, as of the Commonwealth.* 'Tis true, the Church is a Society, but not a Body Politick, founded upon the Publick Authority, but owes it Original to a higher Principle, having not, like other Colledges, its dependency from the State. What is alledged out of *Titus*, 2. 9. *Colos.* 3. 20, 22. *Rom.* 13. 3, 4. 1 *Pet.* 2. 14. is strangely misrepresented to evince, that Ecclesiastical Matters are dependent from the absolute Pleasure of Sovereigns. What Follows might also very well deserve some Animadversions, if it were not beyond our scope at present.

N. 13. It is a gross Error, That, *as a Consequence of this Sovereign Power in Ecclesiastical Affairs*, he attributes to them, *the Titles of Pastors, Ministers, Heralds of God, Bishops, Priests, and Apostles.* Pray, with what Authority, and with what sense? For, the Duty belonging to Sovereigns, which entitles them to the name of *being the Guardians of both Tables of the Decalogue, and of being the Foster-Fathers and Defenders of the Church*, is of as far different Nature from what he would insinuate here. And, if it be not to be left to the absolute Judgment of the Clergy it self, with exclusion of the rest of the Members of the Church, to determine in Ecclesiastical Affairs, what is agreeable to the Word of God, how can this Judgment belong to the Sove-

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reign alone, without allowing a ſhare to the reſt of the Members of the Church?

Theſe words in the §. LXIV. *Each Sovereign may eſtabliſh what Religion he pleaſes in his Dominions*, ought not to be let paſs by without a ſevere Correction. The Reaſon alledged is very frivolous: *Becauſe all Publick and external Actions depend from the Publick Authority.* Is this your Aſſertion, good Mr. *Houtuyn*, that Princes may impoſe what Religion they pleaſe upon their Subjects, and by their abſolute Authority make it the eſtabliſh'd Religion, with excluſion to all others, who, if not complying, muſt, forſooth, fly the Country? What Religion they pleaſe, do you ſay! the the Pagan, Falſe, Fictious, or Superſtitious, it matters not which. From whence, pray, was this Power derived to Sovereigns? Not certainly from God, except you can ſhew us a Divine Authority for it. Not from the common conſent of thoſe that entred into Civil Societies; Commonwealths not being inſtituted for Religion's ſake, and of a later date; beſides, that ſuch a Power is not requiſite for the attaining that end, for which Civil Societies were eſtabliſh'd. Neither is it left to the bare pleaſure of any Perſon, tho' conſidered as in the Natural ſtate of Freedom, to profeſs what Religion he pleaſes: But, ſuppoſing it was, no Inference can be made from thence, that the ſame may be forc'd upon others. The diſtinction he makes betwixt the *internal and external Religion*, muſt alſo be taken with a great deal of Circumſpection, leſt ſome People might perſwade themſelves, that it is in-

different what Religion a Man profeſſes in o
ward ſhew, provided he be ſatisfied as to
internal part of it. Furthermore, it is al
lutely falſe, that all Publick Actions, that
every thing done in Publick in the Comm
wealth, owes its Original to the Sover
Power; there being ſeveral things to be d
by Subjects in publick, depending meerly fi
that Liberty belonging to them in the Nat
ſtate of Liberty, or from God's Comma
or from a certain Power granted to them
God Almighty.

It is no leſs falſe, That all exterior Acti
depend from the Civil Authority; For,
cording to Mr. *Houtuyn*'s Opinion, the I
ctrine of Divinity, and the Confeſſion of Fa
as comprehended in a certain form, are to
reckoned among thoſe exterior Actions.
Houtuyn is much in the wrong, when he p
tends to draw an Inference from thence; th
becauſe it belongs to Sovereigns to take c
that their Subjects may be well inſtructed c
cerning what Opinion they ought to have
God, as the Eſtabliſher of Juſtice; they the
fore have a Right of diſpoſing (in an Ar
trary way) of revealed Religion, and to
clare any Religion whatſoever, which prete
to Revelation, the Eſtabliſh'd Religion in
Commonwealth. It is a much groſſer Miſt
yet, when he aſſerts: That *any Religion e*
bliſh'd in a State, tho' never ſo falſe, contribu
to the Publick Tranquility of that Commonwea
It is poſſible that a Religion defective in ſo
Points, may nevertheleſs lead People into
way of Salvation; but thoſe that contain fi

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Doctrines of God and his Attributes, are incapable of producing that Effect. The Publick Tranquility, founded upon such false Opinions, will be very unstable, and may with more ease, or at least with the same conveniency be obtained by the true Doctrine; especially if it be taken into consideration, that, tho' it be possible that such Impostures may beguile the giddy-headed Multitude, they cannot always pass for currant among Men of a sound Understanding: It is to be remembred, that the Southsayers at *Rome* cannot forbear laughing, when they meet another of the same Profession. We must beg Mr. *Houtuyn*'s Pardon, if we question his Authority, when he pretends to perswade us: That *Faith*, which he is pleased to call *every ones private Religion, independent from any Temporal Power*, will not be impaired by a Man's professing any other Religion, established by the Sovereign Authority; and he leaves it to the discretion of those Civil Governours, which of all Religions they will be pleased to establish in their Dominions, whether that of the *Japoneses*, of the *Brachmans*, *Mahometans*, *Jews*, or *Christians*; and among all those that pretend to the Christian Name, such a one as may be most agreeable to their own Fancy. I much question, whether he will meet with many Tools, that will take his Word for it. A great part of Christendom did look upon it as a thing insufferable, that the Pope of *Rome* should set up for the great Arbitrator of Christendom in matters relating to the Christian Faith, tho' his Pretences did not reach further than to force

one Religion upon the World, which he knew was moſt likely to turn to his own Advantage. But now it ſeems it has pleaſed God, that Sovereigns ſhould be inveſted with a Power of eſtabliſhing any Religion at pleaſure; and it being beyond queſtion, that there are ſeveral Religions which have not the leaſt relation to one another, they may, with the ſame Right, at ſeveral times, declare, ſeveral diſtinct Religions, nay, even thoſe that are quite oppoſite to one another, the eſtabliſh'd Religion, and nevertheleſs every one of theſe muſt be accepted, forſooth, as the true Religion. The next Conſequence will be, that Sovereigns, having a Right of defending and altering the eſtabliſh'd Religion, and to puniſh ſuch as treſpaſs againſt it, one Prince will have no more Right to cheriſh and maintain one Religion, but his Succeſſors may, with the ſame Right, aboliſh it, and puniſh ſuch of his Subjects as adhere to it. So that according to the Doctrine of Mr. *Houtuyn*'s Goſpel, the eſtabliſh'd Religion will be ſettled upon the ſame Foundation with ſome Statutes, which may be enacted and repeal'd by Sovereigns at pleaſure.

In §. LXV. He entirely, and without limitation, aſcribes to the Prince the Power of *Conſtituting Miniſters of the Goſpel, in the ſame manner as if they were Miniſters of the State.* But in the Commonwealth of the *Jews*, regulated according to God's own Inſtitution, no ſuch Power was granted to their Kings; Neither had the Apoſtles themſelves, (tho' the moſt general Teachers that ever were (as being

being sent to Preach the Gospel to all the World) their Authority of Teaching, from any Temporal Sovereigns. Neither can it be proved, that the Church, at the time, when Sovereigns first embraced the Christian Faith, did transferr this Power of constituting Ministers of the Gospel, without limitation, to those Princes; tho' at the same time it is not to be denied, but that Sovereigns have a considerable share in it. His Argument taken from *the care Parents ought to have of the Salvation of their Children*, does not reach to what he pretends to prove; for, says he, Princes being the Publick Fathers of the Commonwealth; *it belongs to their Princely Office, to provide for the Eternal Salvation of their Subjects.* For, besides that, the Title of *Father of the Commonwealth* is a Metaphorical Expression, the Fatherly and the Regal Office depend from a quite different Principle, and the care to be taken of Children of a tender Age, is of another Nature with that which ought to be employed for the Safety of a whole People; neither were Sovereigns invested with the Supream Authority to enable them to procure Eternal Salvation to their Subjects, God having prescribed other ways and means for the obtaining of it. It cannotbe denied, but that a Prince must not be regardless of this Care, nevertheless ought the same not to reach beyond its due Bounds, but must be effected by such Methods as are approved of in the Holy Scripture, and suit with the true Genius of the Christian Religion; Wherefore, it is in vain to attribute to Sovereigns a Power of

obtruding any Religion, at pleaſure, upon their Subjects; it being beyond queſtion, that not all Religions are conducing to obtain Eternal Salvation. So *Abraham*, the Father of Believers, did not impoſe upon his Children what Religion he thought moſt convenient, but he charged them to walk in the ways of the Lord, ſuch as were manifeſted to them in the Holy Scripture. What St. *Paul* ſays, 1 *Tim.* 2. 2. is very well worth taking notice of, *viz.* That the chief care of the Supream Governours ſhall be, ſo to Rule over their Subjects, that they may live under them, not only honeſtly, but piouſly; this being the way to Eternal Salvation. It is to be obſerved, that thoſe Princes, for whom the Apoſtle enjoined the Chriſtians to pray, being Pagans, made but little account of Piety, eſpecially of that belonging to the Chriſtians; but it was thought ſufficient for the Chriſtians to enjoy the common Benefit of the Publick Tranquility under their Protection, the reſt being left to their own care. So we read that the Poet's enjoyment of his Muſes, was owing to *Auguſtus Cæſar's* Protection; nevertheleſs the Emperor did not concern himſelf about the Rules of Poetry. Furthermore, it is a very groſs way of Arguing, when he Aſſerts: That, *the Commonwealth and Church are both one and the ſame thing under a Chriſtian Prince, whoſe Subjects alſo profeſs the Chriſtian Religion, the only difference being in reſpect of their different Qualifications: They being in the Commonwealth to be conſidered as they are Subjects, in the Church as Believers.* It ſeems, Mr. *Houtuyn* looks upon that Difference to be

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UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

of little moment, which ariſes from divers Moral Qualifications, and includes different Obligations, and is founded upon another Legal Principle. It is confeſs'd, that in ſuch a caſe where the Head is not differing in his Natural Conſtitution from the Rights and Power belonging to him, the reſt of the Members, tho' differently conſidered under divers Qualifications, are nevertheleſs to be look'd upon as one and the ſame Society. As for inſtance: If a Prince puts himſelf at the Head of all his Subjects upon an Expedition, theſe, tho' they may be conſidered either as Soldiers or Subjects, yet do not differ in any Eſſential Part; As for Example: The People of *Iſrael*, when going upon their Expedition under the Conduct of *Joſhua*, was the very ſame that afterwards, under his Protection, enjoyed and inhabited the Country of *Canaan*. But the Church and Commonwealth, tho' compoſed out of the ſelf-ſame Perſons, do not only differ in their very Foundation, but alſo a Sovereign cannot claim the ſame Right and Name of being the Supream Head of the Church in the ſame ſenſe, as he is the Supream Governour of the State. For, in the latter he exerciſes his Authority without controul, being ſubject to no body; But, the Head of the Church is Chriſt, who Rules it by his Word, announced to us by the Teachers of the Church; ſo, that a Sovereign cannot as much as claim the Right of being Chriſt's Vicegerent in the Church; And, on the other hand, tho' it is ſaid of Chriſt, *That all Power is given unto him in Heaven, and upon Earth*, nevertheleſs it

cannot be ſaid of him, to be, in the ſame manner, the Head of Civil Societies, as of the Church. The next following Aſſertion runs thus: *Where the whole Commonwealth is not compoſed out of Chriſtians, the Church is a Congregation of the Believers in the Commonwealth.* But, where all Subjects are Chriſtians, the Church is nevertheleſs nothing elſe than a Colledge in the Commonwealth. But what he alledges of the Church being ſometimes taken in the ſame ſenſe with the Commonwealth, is abſolutely falſe. For the words, Κατ' ἐκκλησίαν in *Acts* 14 23. and thoſe in *Titus* 1. 5. Κατὰ πόλιν are no Synoms; but the latter is to be underſtood thus: In all the Towns and Cities, where there was any Chriſtian Church. The Inference he would make from the Military Function, and the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, being both included in one Government, is to no purpoſe; both of them owing their Off-ſpring to that End for which Civil Societies were inſtituted, which is not the ſame in the Church; and Sovereigns are entruſted with the Sword of War and Juſtice, not with the Miniſterial Function of Preaching the Goſpel. From whence it comes, that Generals and Judges are ſubordinate to the Princely Office, but not the Miniſters of the Goſpel, they being (barely conſidered as ſuch) not properly Miniſters of the Prince and State, but Miniſters of Chriſt and the Church. He ſays further; *That the aſſignation of the Miniſterial Function does not appertain to the Internal part of Religion.* But if Faith comes from hearing, and no body can believe, without being

being inſtructed; it is undeniable, that thoſe that Preach the Goſpel, have a ſhare in the internal part of Religion, they being to be conſidered as the Inſtruments, by the help of whom, the Goſpel, and conſequently the Faith, is conveyed to their Auditors. It is falſe, when he aſſerts, That Sovereigns, tho' no Chriſtians, have a Right of conſtituting Miniſters; *For*, ſays he, *their Right is the ſame.* But a Prince, who makes not Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith, tho' he has Chriſtian Subjects under his Juriſdiction, and allows them the free Exerciſe of their Religion, has nevertheleſs not the leaſt Power over their Church, as being no Member of it. It is no leſs falſe, what he ſays, that ſince Princes are become Chriſtians, the Vocation of Miniſters does no more depend from the Church; *Juſt as a Man, by ſubmitting himſelf under another Juriſdiction, is no more at his own diſpoſal.* For, a Prince by becoming a Member of the Church, does thereby not make himſelf Maſter of that Church, but rather ſubmits to the Obedience of Chriſt, the Head of the Church; and therefore does not incroach all its Rights to himſelf, but only can claim his ſhare as ſuch, unleſs a certain Church ſhould voluntarily ſurrender its Rights, as far as it lies in its power, to the Sovereign. And I ſee no reaſon, why the Church may not be under the Protection of a Chriſtian Sovereign, *as repreſenting a certain Perſon in the Commonwealth, and therefore to Act and Decree by plurality of Votes, which implies a Right, at leaſt by Conſent.* For, there is a *Medium* betwixt the State or Commonwealth and

and a diſorderly Multitude, *viz.* a Colled where there is no occaſion for a coerſive vereign Power. This may be illuſtrated b Example: For, ſuppoſing in a Commonwe a certain Society or Company of Merchar regulated by certain Statutes of their o under the Direction of ſome of its own M bers. Into this Colledge a Prince has a r to be received as a Member, paying his tain ſhare. By being thus made a Membe this Company, he has not obtained an a lute diſpoſal over this Society; but rather accommodated himſelf to the Statutes of Colledge, neither can he claim any other I rogative there, but what is derived ei from his ſhare in that Company, or fro free Gift, and voluntary conſent of the re its Members; and as a Member of this C ledge he is to be conſidered, not as a Pri but as a Merchant. There is nevertheleſs remarkable difference, *viz.* That it is in Power of a Sovereign to hinder the ſett up of ſuch a Society, which is not the ſ in regard of the Church. He plainly bet his Ignorance, when he ſays: *That the Ch is to be conſidered as a multitude of People, c prehended in the Perſon of one Prince; from wh the Prince repreſents the People, like one Pul Perſon, through whom the whole People de their Sentiments.* For, tho' this be appli to the Commonwealth, it is not to the Chu they being quite different from one anot It cannot be denied, but that thoſe who h the Sovereign Power in the State, may E what Laws they think moſt convenient;

to attribute the ſame Power to Sovereigns over the Church, is a Madneſs, and ſavours of Blaſphemy. And, ſuppoſing a Prince ſhould be miſled into Errors, or Hereſie, muſt therefore the whole Church be accounted Erroneous, or Heretical? Except he would perſwade us alſo, that Princes are Infallible. Wherefore in thoſe places where the Election of Miniſters is independent from the Prince, it is ſuppoſed to proceed from a Right tranſferred unto him by the Church; The ſame is to be underſtood, where this Election is managed either by the Biſhops or Presbyters. But in caſe the ſame be done by the whole Church, it would be prepoſterous to ſay, that ſuch an Election was made by vertue of a Priviledge granted by the Prince. Mr. *Houtuyn* having granted before, *That the Paſtoral Function, not being annexed to any certain Perſon, (conſidered as ſuch) had no dependency from the Civil Juriſdiction, but owed its Inſtitution to Chriſt.* Nevertheleſs in §. LXVI. he affirms: *That the actual Adminiſtration of the Miniſterial Function is an External Publick Act, ſuch as is ſubject to the Civil Power.* Which is the ſame in effect, as if he ſaid, Matrimony is a Divine Inſtitution, but it depends from the Prince, whether he will allow his Subjects to Marry actually or not. For, ſuppoſing a Sovereign ſhould take a Reſolution to forbid the antient Exerciſe of the Miniſterial Function, what would, in ſuch a Caſe, become of this Paſtoral or Miniſterial Function? It is alſo inſufferable what he ſays immediately after: *An Election is a voluntary Act, therefore revocable at pleaſure*; it being certain,

not proceed from the Civil Juriſdiction, but from a Right tranſlated to the Sovereign by the Church. But thoſe that are puniſhed by the Civil Authority, becauſe *they have ſtirr'd up, by their turbulent Speeches and Sermons, the People to Rebellion againſt their Sovereigns, or have attempted to withdraw the Auditors from, and to reſiſt the Power of a legal Juriſdiction*, cannot be ſaid to undergo Puniſhment on the account of the Chriſtian Religion. Furthermore, it is falſe, that the Church (conſidered as ſuch) can claim any Juriſdiction, properly ſpeaking. It is no leſs falſe, that the Power of diſpoſing and exerciſing thoſe Functions, belonging to each Church, is a civil Act, in regard of its publick Effect. Mr. *Houtuyn* has been drawn into all theſe Errors, by confounding the Commonwealth with the Church. If theſe two be not very nicely diſtinguiſhed, but we allow the Church to be entirely ſwallowed up in the civil Power, what have we got by ſhaking of the Popiſh Yoak? For, the condition of the Church will be never the better, if all Eccleſiaſtical Matters, without Exception are left to the arbitrary Diſpoſal of Sovereigns; To maintain which, Mr. *Houtuyn*, in contradiction to all Reaſon and the Scripture it ſelf, has invented; *A ſpiritual Good, or the eternal Welfare of People, as the main End and Duty of the Sovereign Power*; By Vertue of which, he enables his Prince to force his Subjects to profeſs publickly what Religion he will be pleaſed to impoſe upon them, tho' never ſo contrary to their own Opinion. For it may be ſufferable for a Man to keep his own Opinion concealed to himſelf, but to be oblig'd

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to profeſs what is quite contrary to it, is both abominable and intolerable. The Saying of *Conſtantine the Great*, ſo much extoll'd by Mr. *Houtuyn* himſelf, is contradictory to his Aſſertion, *viz. That he could have wiſh'd, all his Subjects to have been Chriſtians, but that he never forced any.* For, this Emperour not only never attempted to force any one from his own Opinion (which indeed was beyond his Power) but alſo never conſtrained his Subjects to profeſs themſelves Chriſtians againſt their own Inclinations. Our Author does alſo not a little contradict himſelf, in what he ſays concerning Words, ſometimes exempting them from any civil Cogniſance; whereas, before he had made them liable to the civil Juriſdiction: *What*, ſays he; *if our Faith expreſs'd by Words ſhould come to the knowledge of our Sovereign? It ought to be look'd upon not ſo much as a Crime, but rather as an Error, to correct which, is not to be effected by Puniſhments (which do illuminate our Mind) but rather by good Inſtructions.* But thoſe that know the real difference betwixt the Commonwealth and Church, that is to ſay, betwixt the State and a Colledge, may without much difficulty diſſolve theſe knotty Queſtions, which he has ſtarted concerining the Juriſdiction and Legiſlative Power of Princes over the Church.

As to the §. LXIX. It is to be obſerved, that it is put beyond all queſtion, that Sovereigns have a Right to give the Authority and Force of a Law to ſuch Statutes as they find ſuitable to the State, it being their Prerogative to determine, according to what Laws Judgment is to be given in Civil Courts of Judicature, what is

is punishable, and what is to be left to the Conscience of every Subject. But it implies an Absurdity, to attribute to Sovereigns a Right of giving publick Authority to Prophesies themselves, neither the Intrinsick nor Historical Faith having any dependence on the Civil Jurisdiction, by the force of which Subjects may be obliged to act, but not to believe. From whence it is evident, that if any Prophecy appear to be from God, it cannot receive any Addition by the Authority of the Prince, no more than if he should declare *Cicero* to be a good *Latin* Author. But in case a pretended Prophecy be either ambiguous or supposititious in it self, and a Prince should persuade himself to be able by his own Authority to make it pass current for Truth, he would be look'd upon as one beyond his Senses; What he insinuates concerning the New Testament in general, is much of the same Stamp: *It was not*, says he, *in the power of Christ and his Apostles, to establish this Doctrine* (of the New Testament) *by Publick Authority, which was the reason it remain'd in a private condition, till such time when Princes having received the Christian Faith, they gave it a publick Authority, and the force of Laws.* But the Rules and Doctrine of Christ cannot receive any additional Strength from the Civil Power, it being contrary to its Genius to be established and promoted by civil Punishments; For, whosoever out of fear of Temporal Punishments, professes in outward shew only this Doctrine, does not act according to, nor fulfil the Will of Christ.

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The ſame may be repliy'd to §. LXX. For, as the Scripture and the Chriſtian Doctrine do not owe their Authority to the civil Juriſdiction, the latter being introduced in the Government by God's peculiar Aſſiſtance, inſpite of all the Reſiſtance of the civil Powers; So ought the Interpretation of the the ambiguous and controverted Paſſages in the holy Scripture, not to be determined by the Sovereign Authority; it belonging not to the Prince only, but to the whole Church, or ſuch as are authoriſed by the Church; tho' at the ſame time, the Prince, conſidered as the Chief Member of it, cannot be excluded from having his ſhare in ſuch a Debate. It is a prophane Expreſſion when he ſays: *Chriſt himſelf having an unqueſtionable Power of introducing a new Law, muſt needs have a right to interpret the ſame. But, ſince during the time of his abode here, he lived among thoſe, that either out of Ignorance or Diſobedience did not own Chriſt, and that in a private Condition, ſubject to the civil Power; it is evident, that his Laws, Doctrine, and the Interpretation of them, did acquire their obliging Power, and publick Authority from the civil Conſtitution.* A little more would have made the Office of Chriſt, as being Mediator of the World, alſo dependent from the civil Juriſdiction. Is it not a prodigious Abſurdity to affirm; *That the Doctrine of Chriſt has received its publick Authority from the civil Power, among thoſe, who denied Chriſt? And what follows: That, if at the time of Chriſt, Princes had been Chriſtians, they would have acknowledged him for the true God, and the Son of God, ſubmitting themſelves to his Judgment; ſo,*

that the Interpretation of the Christian Doc would have been owing by Christ, to their Sub sion. Away with such Fictions not agree even to common Sense. He might as well that God's Power over us Mortals did ow original to the submission of Princes; an case they thought fit to withdraw themse from this Obedience, God Almighty (I can relate it without horror) must thereby reduced to the Condition of a priv Person.

In the next Assertion, he is not altoget so much beyond his Senses when he gra even to Pagan Princes, a Right of deter ning the controverted Points among Chri ans, which is as much as to make a blind M a competent Judge of the difference of C lours. When the Primitive Christians w forced to appear before the Pagan Judges, was not on the Account of the Interpretat of the Scripture; The Christians could ne be guilty of so gross an Error, as to Com with the Unbelieving concerning the cont verted Articles of Faith; But, being forc against their will, to appear before the they could not avoid to receive their Jud ment, such as they were pleased to give, having no way left them to decline it. F thermore, our Author is pleased to affir That such an Interpretation ought to be loo upon as establish'd by Publick Authority, wh carries along with it an obliging force, least in outward appearance; so, that S jects are obliged to conform themselves t by a verbal Confession, tho' never so dis

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of God. And, if he find it not conſonant to that, he ought not to reſt ſatisfied in it, for fear he ſhould diſown his Faith, this being the worſt, and moſt unbecoming thing belonging to a Chriſtian. But, if it be unbecoming a Chriſtian to deny his Faith, which is the ſame in effect, *as to reſt ſatisfied in ones own private Opinion and Conſcience, to keep ſecret within the heart what one believes, not to indulge one's Tongue, and to refrain from External Actions.* This being the Advice (which in contradiction to himſelf, he had not long before given to the Diſſenting Subjects) what Reaſon can he give for his Aſſertion, when he attributes to his Prince a Power ſo unlimited, that his Chriſtian Subjects muſt either be forced to undergo ſuch an Indignity, or elſe the moſt horrible Perſecutions that can be invented? The firſt Inventer of this unlimited Power, as far as ever I could learn, was Mr. *Thomas Hobbs*, the worſt Interpreter that ever was in Divinity; whoſe Opinion, as to this kind, no body has taken ſo much pains to revive with the ſame Impudence, as Mr. *Adrian Houtuyn.* What I moſt admire at, is, that this ſhould be attempted by one living in a State, whoſe Maxims are quite oppoſite to theſe Principles, and where conſequently he could not reaſonably propoſe to himſelf any Reward of his Adulation; There being not the leaſt likelihood that the States General of the *United Provinces* ſhould ever lay claim to ſuch a Power; As it is not very probable that Princes will apply themſelves to the Miniſtry of the Church, and undertake the Publick Exerciſe of the Paſtoral

Paſtoral Function in Perſon; ſo, that I not ſee, to what purpoſe our Author has ſo careful in aſſerting it, in the behalf o vereigns; Unleſs he has pleaſed himſelf this Fancy, that his Aſſertions cannot f make him to be the more admired amon Youngſters, by how much the more re they are from common Senſe. Thus mu preſent for Mr. *Houtuyn.*

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